FREE THE 18!

THE MILITANT

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COMPANY INSPIRES ANTI-NEGRO STRIKE

Petitions To Pardon 18 Presented To President

Trotskyist Prisoners Reaffirm Their Revolutionary Principles; Over 2,000,000 Workers Support CRDC Petition to Release the 18

The 18 Trotskyist and CIO Truck drivers Local 544 leaders convicted in the Minneapolis Labor Case and railroad ed to prison last January 1 under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, last Wedne sday reaffirmed the revolutionary socialist principles for which they were prosecuted. This restatement of the views they defended at their trial was conveyed to Daniel Lyons, U. S. Pardon Attorney, in Washington, D. C., by Geo rge Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, who presented the prisoners' formal application for immediate unconditional pardon.

All the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners have records of many years of devoted service to the labor movement. Among them are the outstanding trade union leaders and militants who built the powerful truckdrivers organization in Minneapolis and inspired the tremendous upsurge of unionism throughout the Northwest. The honor roll of prisoners includes:

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Grace Carlson, Minnesota Organizer, SWP; Jake Cooper, former organizer, Youth Section of Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Oscar Coover, Minneapolis Organizer, SWP and 38 years a member of the AFL Electrical Workers; Harry DeBoer, Organizer, Local 544-CIO; Farrell Dobbs, Editor, The Militant and former International Representative, AFL Teamsters; Vincent R. Dunne, SWP National Labor Secretary and former organizer, Local 544; Max Geldman, former officer, Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Albert Goldman, SWP attorney and Minneapolis trial defense counsel; Clarence Hamel, organizer, Local 544; Emil Hansen, organizer, Local 544; Carlos Hudson, Editor, Local 544-CIO Industrial Organizer; Karl Kuehn, former officer, Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Felix Morrow, Editor, Fourth International; Ed Palmquist, organizer, Fed. Workers Section 544; A. Russel, former officer, Omaha Teamsters Local 554; Oscar Shoenfeld, former Youth Organizer, Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Carl Skoglund, former President, Local 544-AFL, and organizer, Local 544-CIO.

THE REAL CRIME

Citing the opinion of over 300 labor and progressive organiza-

(Continued on page 2)

Boss Aims

The bosses' hopes that all unions will be smashed by wartime measures were laid bare in the August 2 issue of Local 599 Headlight, official paper of UAW-CIO Buick Local 599, Flint, Michigan.

At a recent War Labor Board hearing, the report says, the personnel representative of the Chrysler company was asked: "Are you going to get along with the unions, after the war is over?"

"Certainly, we must get along with the unions—if they are here after the war," was his reply.

Hitlerites Reveal Crisis Penetrates Deep in Nazi Rule

The true extent of the so-called "Generals' Revolt," which first disclosed the cracks in the Nazi regime, is now being revealed by official Nazi sources themselves. Last week, following formal admissions that scores of leading officers and General Staff members had been involved in the attempted anti-Hitler coup d'etat, Hans Fritsche, political editor of the official German radio, broadcast the confession that the "revolting group" was "even larger than had been estimated originally."

How much larger, he revealed in part through the further statement: "It has now been established that the German Army, the police, the Foreign Office, representatives of German industry and conservative politicians of the old school were involved in the peace movement against Hitler... The participation of the military commander of the district of Nuremberg and of other city commanders is proof that the army units within Germany gave wide support to the revolt."

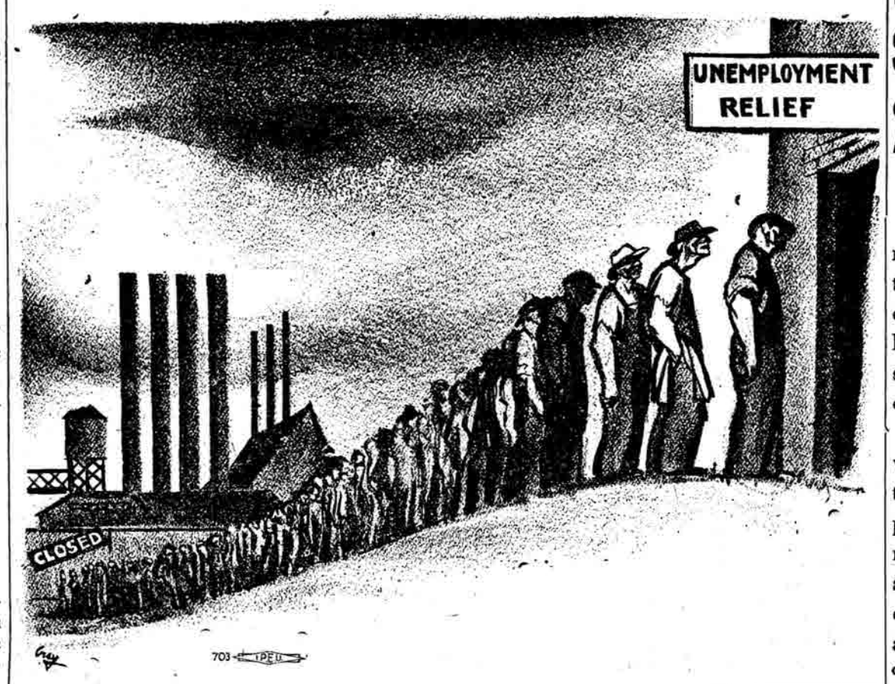
MASS FERMENT

Just as evidence is mounting that the first stage of the "Generals' Revolt" represented far more than the actions of a "small clique," so it is becoming increasingly apparent that the violent clash within the German ruling-class reflects tremendous mass ferment and pressure from below. Confirmation of this is contained in the August 2 column of Wm. Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard writer, who reports:

"United Nations officials in London are convinced that the revolt against Hitler was not only genuine, but far from being crushed, has only been driven underground temporarily and will soon erupt again with greater violence than ever... There seems good reason to believe that there is now a definite peace

(Continued on page 3)

Wall Street's Reconversion Plan



New Michigan Party Launched By Constitutional Convention

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich., Aug. 5. — More than 100 leading trade union militants, representing over 6000 members enrolled in more than 30 clubs, gathered in convention at Lansing on July 28-30 to officially launch the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. The convention adopted a constitution, declaration of principles and a political platform. A small slate of about half-dozen candidates for U. S. Congress and the State Senate and Legislature was nominated to oppose the nominees of the two boss parties. County conventions were scheduled to consider adding county candidates. Matthew B. Hammond, temporary chairman of the MCF since last March, was reelected as permanent chairman. Hammond assured the convention "it will be a fighting campaign."

It would be an exaggeration to call the MCF a full-fledged Independent Labor Party. What the convention disclosed, however, was that the nucleus for such a party was firmly established. No amount of conniving and maneuvers can shake the union militants from their resolve to build this nucleus into a genuine independent political party of labor.

Although Hammond and Silver, UAW-CIO officials, on the one hand, and the Socialist Party followers on the other, joined forces to minimize labor's role in the new party and hailed the MCF as a "peoples party," everything that transpired at the convention belied that characterization. The identity of the MCF clubs was hidden by designating them by number instead of by name — but no one was fooled by this device. Practically every club represented at the convention was either a shop nucleus or a district club formed by trade union militants and was composed mainly of workers.

NAME OF PARTY

The attitude of the delegates was made evident during the first point on the agenda when the name of the new organization came up for discussion. The Briggs club delegation asked that the words "Labor Party" be incorporated into the official designation of the party. Tucker Smith reflected his fear of labor and his lack of confidence in the militant rank and file when he stated: "If you build a Labor Party in Michigan one of your greatest headaches will be organized labor." Despite the united opposition of the MCF leadership and the technical obstacles involved in a change at this time almost half the delegates present showed what kind of party they really want by voting for the Briggs amendment.

BIGGEST OVATION

So it was throughout the convention. The biggest ovation was received by a young militant when he replied to those who posed the argument of the Smith-Connally Act to oppose affiliation of unions to the MCF. Analyzing the aims of the Smith-Connally Act, he showed how management feared the independent political action of labor. The exploiting class understood the power of the working class, he said, far better than some of the labor leaders who lacked confidence in the workers whom they are supposed to be leading.

FAIL TO PUSH PROGRAM

Only labor, he pointed out, can lead behind it the working farmers and the lower middle classes. The MCF must turn its face toward the trade unions, he warned, speak boldly in the name of labor, and not cringe before the onslaughts of the boss class and their political agents. Only when labor shows sufficient determination and demonstrates its ability to lead can it rally around its banner the farmers, white collar workers, professionals and small businessmen. The spontaneous ovation which greeted this speech reflected the hopes and aspirations of the bulk of rank and file delegates. They had the confidence in labor that their leaders lacked.

The relatively small size of the convention and the tiny section of the labor movement represent-

(Continued on page 4)

Bridges Won't Help

On July 27 Harry Bridges, prominent Stalinist union official, discussed post-war problems with Adrian Falk, president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Falk complained about the relatively high wages in unionized San Francisco and concluded that: "It might be necessary to ease some of the restrictions putting San Francisco at a disadvantage with the rest of the country."

Here is how Bridges answered this open-shop threat: "Any union planning a big fight with the bosses after the war won't get the support of much of labor," Bridges said, adding parenthetically that he spoke only for "his" union. "Strikes won't help."

Philadelphia Walkout Aims To Smash CIO Transport Union

Company Union Leaders Head Jim Crow Move to Split Labor Unity by Inciting Hatred

By Art Preis

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 7. — In a desperate move to smash the CIO Transport Workers Union, the Philadelphia Transportation Company, acting in collusion with leaders of the former company union, last week inspired a 6-day municipal transportation stoppage against the training of 8 Negro workers for operating jobs on street-cars and busses.

Using the time-worn device of "divide and rule," the company and its agents provoked this anti-labor race-hate action with the aim of splitting the ranks of the CIO union, which a few months ago won a collective bargaining election against the company-sponsored PRT (Phila. Rapid Transit) Employees Union. This company outfit for years had upheld the PTC's flagrant Jim-Crow policies and had campaigned against the TWU with the slogan, "A vote for the CIO is a vote for Niggers on the job."

JIM-CROW AGITATION

Following the election victory of the CIO, the former company union leaders intensified their open Jim-Crow agitation. This agitation was conducted on company property with the tacit consent of the union-hating bosses. The pretext for the action was provided when the company, after months of protest, was compelled to abide by an FEPC order to hire and train Negroes for operators' jobs. The CIO supported the FEPC order.

The stoppage was precipitated early last Tuesday morning, when an organized minority of backward workers, incited and led by the company union officials, forced a discontinuance of work by close to 6,000 PRT employees, most of whom knew nothing of the walkout in advance, had not voted for it, and did not even know the issue involved. Squads of "goons" roamed the city and invaded the car barns, halting public conveyances, warning the operators they were "sick" and had better stop work. The CIO officials, taken by surprise, were unable to prevent the walkout.

The hand of the company was almost immediately revealed when at the first meeting of the workers, held on the company's property at the 10th and Luzerne Streets car barn, the last two heads of the PRT Employes Union assumed open leadership of the Jim-Crow action.

COMPANY LEADERS

James McMenamin, known to be a frequent visitor to the company's executive offices, pushed himself forward as the self-styled "strike leader." His chief lieutenant was Frank Carney, head of the defeated company union. They and their henchmen played on the prejudices of the workers, exhorting them with vicious race-hate speeches against "niggers taking white men's jobs." While raising a completely false issue of seniority rights to excite the workers' justifiable fears of job insecurity, Mc-

SEE EDITORIAL
ON PAGE 6:
'Philadelphia Strike'

Menamin emphasized that it was "a strict black and white issue" and "no labor union is involved in this."

The complicity of the company is shown both by its actions just preceding and during the walkout and by its whole history of anti-union, anti-Negro policies. It had always let it be known that its jobs were "white men's jobs." Negroes were hired only for sweeping car barns, washing equipment, cleaning switches and repairing tracks. The company union had a "contract" including

(Continued on page 5)

CHURCHILL SHOWS FEAR OF IMPENDING REVOLTS

By William F. Warde

A spirit of uneasiness, reflecting deep antagonisms between the three leading powers in the alliance of the so-called United Nations, and an evident anxiety in face of the looming socialist revolution in Europe, emerged clearly in the speech of Prime Minister Churchill before the House of Commons on August 2.

Churchill confessed that British foreign policy was an extremely "delicate subject" which he approached "not without natural anxiety." One reason for this anxiety, he remarked, was the triangular character of diplomatic relations among the Allies. The allies of imperialist Britain, Churchill wistfully admitted, "are larger and, in some respects, more powerful than we are."

Here the British premier was acknowledging the patent and unpalatable fact that British imperialism has lost its world hegemony, that it must now play third fiddle in the concert of the Great Powers, and that the power of veto it once exercised in international affairs is now vested in others.

"It would be very troublesome to all of us here," said Churchill, "if I made a pronouncement on the subject here and found myself contradicted by our most considerable Allies." Thus Churchill acknowledges that the "United Nations" are far from being harmoniously united and that there exist constant and deep-going conflicts of interest between them. But this is hardly a secret to anyone except the Stalinists with their blind faith in the "miracle" of Teheran.

REASONS FOR CAUTION

There are other reasons why Churchill would prefer to say as little as possible about foreign policy.

Previous pronouncements have already caused him considerable difficulty. Even the vague provisions of the Atlantic Charter proved too embarrassing and restrictive for the deceitful maneuvers of British imperialism. And Churchill burned his tongue in his last speech to the House when he announced that the war is growing less and less ideological in character. He sought to cover up this blunder and to appease his critics by trying to explain away that unfortunate expression. But he did retract the praise of Franco with which it was coupled.

The main reason for his hesitancy Churchill could not avow. That is the contradiction between the slogans of the "democratic" imperialists and their real predatory aims in this war. These have to be kept hidden from the people behind diplomatic double-talk or a prudent silence.

Churchill did, however, touch upon several important questions. He was optimistic about an early disposition of the troublesome Polish question. He confirmed the fact that he and Roosevelt promoted the present visit of Mikolajczyk to Moscow where the Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile is conferring with Stalin. Churchill and Roosevelt obviously hope to conclude the same kind of deal with Stalin regarding Poland as they earlier made for Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

These deals are all being cut according to the same reaction-

(Continued on page 5)

WLB Chairman Upholds Wage Freezing Policy

By Art Preis

Roosevelt's labor lackeys, while defending the institution of the War Labor Board, nevertheless insistently complain that it has failed to carry out the government's "real" wage policy. They attempt, furthermore, to cover up Roosevelt's responsibility for WLB wage-freezing by contending that the Board is acting contrary to Roosevelt's purposes and desires.

William H. Davis, WLB National Chairman, explodes these fake contentions in an article, "The Government's Wage Policy," published by **Liberty Magazine**, August 12. Davis affirms that the WLB is carrying out a "definite wage policy" determined specifically by the Roosevelt administration. That policy is to "stabilize" —freeze—wages within 15 per cent above the January 1941 level. Moreover, that policy has been effectively maintained through the coercive powers of the government at the personal direction of Roosevelt and with the collusion of the trade union bureaucracy.

Davis points out that: "The President named the War Labor Board. . . The conditions permitting wage adjustments to correct inequities and aid the war effort were clearly laid down in the statute (Economic Stabilization Act of 1942) and the President's Executive Orders.

ROOSEVELT'S WAGE-FREEZE

"So the War Labor Board, in administering the wartime wage regulations, is not guided by any whimseys of its own. It steers the wage program along the course charted by Congress and the President. All wage adjustments must conform to the policy they have formulated, and any fundamental changes in policy must be authorized by them."

What are the guiding principles behind Roosevelt's wage-freeze policy? "There are two principal

(Continued on page 3)

Senators Haggle Over Relief Plan For Unemployed Workers

The recent dramatic events in Europe, heralding the possible early military collapse of Germany, have stimulated a flurry of activity around the problem of war production cutbacks and reconversion. The prime government agency on "Post-War Economic Policy and Planning" under the chairmanship of the reactionary poll-tax senator from Georgia, Walter George, has been in existence for over a year. During this entire period the sole accomplishment of the George committee has been the promulgation of the George-Murray Contract Termination Bill providing generous cash payments to war contractors. In this form the George-Murray Bill was rushed through Congress in the closing hours of the last session.

Although each contract terminated meant the loss of jobs to numerous workers, no provision whatever was made for workers "disemployed" by contract terminations leading to cutbacks and plant shutdowns. In fact, an amendment to the George-Murray Bill supported by organized labor, the Kilgore amendment, providing for unemployment compensation, transportation and retraining for discharged veterans and workers as well as other minor safeguards, was rejected by Congress. After taking care of the dollar patriots the Congressmen recessed to attend the Democratic and Republican conventions where they worked to extend the sway of the Wall Street plunderbund.

The Congressional leaders had planned to recess until after the November elections. However, the critical turn in the war, the increasing number of cutbacks, the growing unemployment, the absence of an overall reconversion "plan," engendered enough pressure to alter the original plan. Congress returned to "deal" with the problem. Organized labor, the National Farmers Union, liberals, were pressing for action on the Kilgore Bill, an omnibus measure purporting to deal with all aspects of the reconversion problem. To head off the Kilgore Bill, the Senate Finance Committee, led by Senator George, reported out a "state's rights unemployment compensation" measure under which unemployment compensation would be paid according to the laws and resources of the various states.

The strategy of splitting the reconversion measure into separate parts was worked out by Roosevelt's top administrator, James F. Byrnes, director of War Mobilization, more commonly known as the Assistant President. Under the Byrnes-George scheme, legislation dealing with the "human" side of demobilization would be separated from those parts dealing with the disposal of Government-owned surplus commodities, land, plants and equipment and reconversion to civilian production. Labor spokesmen have opposed such separation, fearing a repetition of what occurred when Congress adopted the Contract Termination Bill and made no provision for dismissal pay, unemployment compensation, etc.

ROTTEN COMPROMISE

Both the Kilgore Bill, reported out by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, and the George Bill, the product of the Senate Finance Committee, will be up for consideration by the Senate at the same time. In an effort to gain adherents the supporters of the Kilgore Bill have already retreated, watering down the measure and weakening some of its provisions.

Indications are that some kind of a rotten compromise will be effected in which the workers will be thrown a few crumbs in the form of unemployment relief, while billions of dollars worth of Government-owned property will be handed to the monopolists. This is the essence of the Roosevelt-sponsored Baruch Plan endorsed by both the Democratic and Republican parties as a model blue-print of the government's "Post-War Economic Policy and Planning."

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Resistance to the no-strike pledge is growing steadily, reflected in the increasing number of strikes throughout key industrial areas. Business Week, **August 5, notes "labor unrest this week seemed to be rising again. Hours are long and tempers short. Workers are tired. Minor grievances are an excuse to go fishing."**

But, behind these strikes, admits Business Week, are "much deeper motives." Namely, the desire to break out of the wage-freezing trap of the Little Steel formula and "get higher wage rates while the getting is good."

Not even the invasion of France, which the Roosevelt administration had calculated to exploit in a superpatriotic offensive against militant labor, succeeded in curbing the workers, hit ever harder by soaring prices and the brazen provocations of the corporations.

Business Week records: "The number of strikes was held to a minimum throughout 1942 and 1943. Yet a different trend set in late in 1943. There was an uninterrupted rise from a total of 270 in September, 1943, to 610 in May of this year. **The invasion was counted on to end this rise. There was a drop in June—but only to 500."** Now the trend is upward again.

* * *

Detroit, center of the powerful and militant CIO automobile workers, continues to be a hotbed of strikes, which the Thomas-Reuther-Addes international UAW-CIO leadership is trying to smother with bureaucratic punitive measures against local militant leaders.

A feature article in the N. Y. Times (Sunday, July 30) declares that the growing Detroit strike wave is "a symbol of intense agitation within the plants and of discontent among the rank and file of workers. They are discontented with policies of management and Government alike. They blame management for refusing to negotiate grievances and they blame the Government for freezing wages."

The article also discloses that: "Agitation within the United Automobile Workers (CIO), the principal union in Detroit war plants, to do away with the no-strike pledge is increasing. At a recent Michigan CIO convention in Grand Rapids, adherents of the policy of abolishing the pledge managed to muster about a third of the votes of the delegates."

* * *

Most significant of a number of UAW-CIO strikes in Detroit and other cities last week was the walkout of 7,000 workers at 5 Detroit Chevrolet gear and axle plants. It began last Wednesday a week ago when 3,600 members of Local 235 went on strike, and spread when 3,400 others later voted to join them. According to Nestor B. Dessy, local president, the strike resulted from "an accumulation of grievances that brought on a spontaneous outburst."

After the workers defied a mandate of the WLB to end the strike "forthwith," the union's international executive board ordered the expulsion from office of the local leaders and established a dictator-receiver over the local in the person of the much-despised Melvin Bishop, international board member from the Detroit East Side region. The expelled officers were charged with failure "to exert themselves sufficiently" to halt the strike.

This bureaucratic explusion order followed the receipt by R. J. Thomas, UAW President, and Walter Reuther, Vice-President, of a telegram from H. W. Anderson, General Motors vice president, complaining that the local officers "were actively participating in furthering the strike." Thomas-Reuther and Company then hastened to act as cops for the company whose vicious provocations had caused the strike.

* * *

CIO Steelworkers President Philip Murray and his lieutenants are experiencing increasing difficulty in curbing militant actions of their members, grown restless and disgusted with the cowardly policies of the leadership.

Typical of numerous steelworkers' walkouts in many parts of the country was the strike last week of 5,700 employes of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company in Trenton and Roebling, N. J. The company provoked the strike by violating the union contract and firing without a hearing nine active union members at the Roebling plant. The Trenton workers voted strike action in support of their union brothers.

After maintaining the strike for a week, the workers voted to return to work when the WLB and union's district officials ordered them back. The WLB was also compelled to issue a directive to the company ordering it to rescind its dismissal of the nine workers and hold a hearing on the case with the union officers.

* * *

In Canada, where organized labor has been making giant strides in the past year or two, members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employes last week again tied up the entire municipal transportation system of Montreal. The workers are demanding a union shop contract from the Montreal Tramways Company.

* * *

The Akron CIO Council has charged that its executive secretary, Paul M. Fessenden, has been railroaded into the Army because of his union activities. Fessenden, who is 39 years old and the father of three children, was ordered to report for military service on July 24, after he refused to direct CIO elevator operators to pass a picket line at the Mayflower Hotel to give service to hotel-guest Lieut. General William Knudsen. CIO Council members charge that an Army major telephoned Fessenden at home and intimated that the union official would be called to military duty if he did not comply with the strikebreaking edict.

This follows previous similar attempts by army officials to interfere with Fessenden and the CIO's activities in Akron. He was originally inducted last fall, when he was within a few months of the 38 year age limit. He was given a six-months deferment on the basis of his important union post. Since then he has been under pressure, because of his position as a member of the U. S. Army Reserve, to carry out anti-union policies or have his deferment cancelled. Last May, he refused to ask steelworkers to work a 10 hour day and was again ordered up for military duty. The order was finally rescinded, but he was refused a permanent discharge.

The Akron CIO Council and the Workers Defense League are urging President Roosevelt to halt this obvious persecution of Fessenden and to direct that Army officers discontinue their attempts to coerce and intimidate union officials and interfere in the affairs of the Akron labor movement.

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and
All Marxist Classics

Pardon Petition For Eighteen Trotskyists Presented To President By CRDC Secretary

(Continued from page 1)

tions, representing more than two million members who have voted support for the imprisoned 18, Novack told the presidential pardon authority: "In our opinion the 18 are guilty of no crime. On the contrary the real crime in this case has been committed against them, against the labor movement, and against the cherished democratic rights of the American people. They have been unjustly deprived of their constitutional rights of free speech and imprisoned solely because of their revolutionary socialist opinions and their labor activities."

Novack further emphasized: "So gross a miscarriage of justice cannot be condoned and should be rectified without delay. For these reasons we urge the President of the United States to uphold the Bill of Rights by according immediate and unconditional pardon to the 18."

NATION-WIDE PROTEST

As the climax of a nation-wide pardon campaign organized by the CRDC following the imprisonment of the 18, Novack presented along with the pardon applications resolutions from more than 300 union, Negro and labor fraternal organizations urging Roosevelt to free the 18. Together with these resolutions, Novack brought petitions signed by more than 12,000 individuals and hundreds of letters from outstanding labor and liberal leaders and scores of articles, editorials and comments from the labor and liberal press condemning the convictions.

"This considerable section of progressive American public opinion," Novack declared, "has thereby recorded itself in clear and vigorous manner against the injustice committed in this important case, the most important involving civil liberties during the present time. They believe, in the words of Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, that "this is a case which should never have been brought to trial under a law which should never have been passed."

Reviewing the background of this government frameup, Novack stated: "The 18 were indicted as the result of a union struggle between the CIO and AFL in Minneapolis after President Daniel J. Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters asked President Roosevelt and the Federal authorities to intervene in the situation. They were the first to be convicted and imprisoned under the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act passed in 1940, the first federal statute in 140 years to make the mere expression of opinion a federal crime. The U.S. Supreme Court three times refused to review their convictions —an unprecedented action in view of the significance of this test case for civil liberties and the fact that the most eminent jurists consider the Smith Act unconstitutional."

Following his appearance before the pardon board, Novack issued an urgent appeal to all local CRDC committees and the labor movement to intensify their activities on behalf of the 18 and to continue flooding the White House with protest resolutions and letters.

INTENSIFY CAMPAIGN

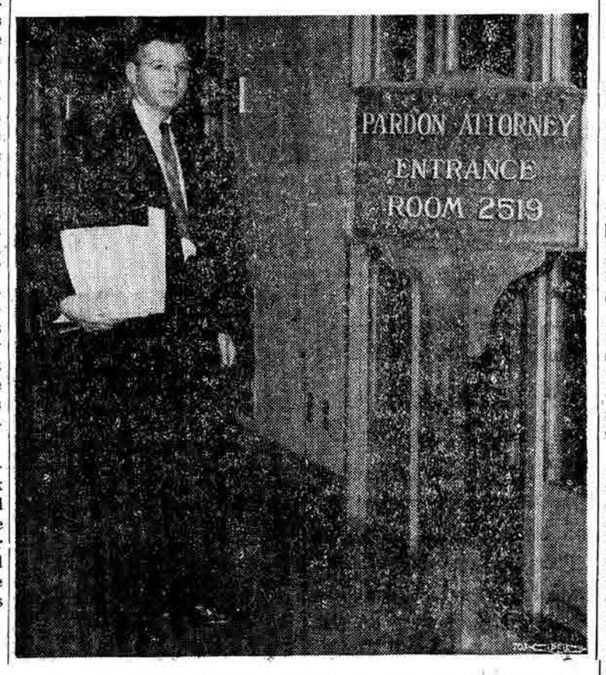
No labor defense case in years has aroused so much protest and enlisted such widespread support as the Minneapolis Labor Case. Among the international unions urging freedom for the 18 are the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes, CIO; United Transport Service Employes, CIO; and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL. Among hundreds of local unions supporting the case are over 50 CIO United Automobile Workers locals, 20 CIO Steelworkers, a dozen ILGWU locals as well as numerous councils and joint boards.

Most of the leading Negro organizations have joined the protest, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the March on Washington Movement, the Negro Labor Committee, the Future Outlook League, the Mass Movement League, the San Francisco Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination. Many prominent Negro leaders, clergymen and educators have endorsed the work of the CRDC.

Among the outstanding labor figures who have gone on record against these imprisonments are R. J. Thomas, International President, UAW-CIO; Julius Hochman, General Manager, Joint Board of Dress & Waistmakers Union; John Gibson, President, Michigan CIO Council; August Scholle, Regional Director, CIO Political Region 6; Robert Parker, Area Director, National CIO War Relief Committee; John Green, President, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America; Irving Abramson, President, N. J. State CIO Council.

The two largest labor fraternal organizations, the Workmen's Circle and the Workmen's Benefit Fund have protested the convictions and have urged their branches to support the CRDC in its campaign to free the 18.

CRDC Secretary Presents Petitions



George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, photographed at the office of the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington on August 2, just before he presented the petitions and resolutions demanding the pardon of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners.

One of our agents in San Pedro writes us about an experience in door-to-door canvassing for 25c. introductory subscriptions to **The Militant:**

"We chose the Slav district as we knew the Slavs to be some of the most militant workers here in San Pedro. Most of them are fishermen and have to fight for their standard of living.

"The first house in my territory was that of a Slav fisherman. I asked him if he had read **The Militant.** He said he had and it was the only paper he could stand, so I asked him if he would care to take a special sub. He immediately asked me to come in, saying he wanted the paper. He said he had taken **The Militant** to the boat where he and six other men work and when they saw the paper they said: 'That is a Trotsky paper and we don't want to see it.' **He said he knew they were Stalinists and then he asked me what kind of a paper the Stalinists put out—one day they are for the workers, the next day they are for the war, then they are for Roosevelt. Then he said, 'I am a subscriber to the** Peoples World **but I wish I could tell my mailman to shoot it from the front door to the fireplace—I can't stand it.' That gave me all the courage I needed. To date I have sold 66 subs."**

In addition to placing **The Militant** on more newsstands in their area, Los Angeles Local informs us that "the Southside Branch is opening a bookstore at 8026 Seville Avenue, South Gate, which will carry the paper, the magazine, and, of course, the complete stock of Pioneer Publishers in addition to all the Marxist works."

* * *

Chicago is covering regular distributions with a leaflet offering the workers our 3-month introductory subscription for 25c. Our agent writes:

"The pluggers for subs are attached to **Militants** distributed at plants. We have now tried it twice. Three subs have resulted. We shall continue this at all plants and union meetings covered."

* * *

Cleveland extended their local **Militant Subscription Campaign** for two months. Our agent comments as follows:

"Well, our sub drive is over and praise the Lord! We can use a rest after this whirlwind campaign. But we boast something more than a mere 300 new subscriptions. The latter stage of the campaign was very actively promoted by our trade unionists —this is an accomplishment which in itself justifies the campaign.

"As you remember, our quota for the last week in the drive was 30, three-fifths of our original assignment. We obtained 33. Let no one ever again say that the Cleveland Branch is the black sheep of the family!"

* * *

Our Akron agent writes: "The Branch is eager to start its renewal campaign. The fine quality of the paper leaves us certain that success will be ours. Kovalesky and Grey are first-rate additions."

* * *

A friend in Wolf Point, Montana is doing good work in getting **The Militant** into the hands of workers there:

"Another comrade and I have done some good work around here and hope it will all help in time. The electrical workers have joined the union, but it's impossible to do much with the farmers here just now. I just pass **The Militant** around to different ones. They seem to like it very much.

"Hope the '18' will soon be out of prison."

Reading Unionists Create Committee For Labor Party

Trade unionists of Reading, Pennsylvania, representing important groups of AFL and Railroad Brotherhood workers, have called upon their fellow workers in Berks County to support the growing movement for the building of a Labor Party. A leaflet issued by the Berks County Trade Union Committee for an Independent Labor Party, brands Roosevelt and Dewey as "Wall Street's Twins."

"Four years of Roosevelt's war policies," the statement declares, "have taught the workers great lessons. Despite the farcical attempts at 'price control' the cost of living has soared to unprecedented heights, but Roosevelt's straitjacket, the infamous 'Little Steel' formula has kept the workers' wages frozen at wholly inadequate levels. At the same time corporation agents and dollar-a-year men are running the war production agencies and shovelling the public treasury into big business vaults. . . To prevent organized labor from revolting. . . Roosevelt has proposed to tie workers to their jobs through a 'slave labor' law. All this, combined with the Congressional and Big Business anti-labor drive, has put the American labor movement in chains.

"An analysis of the Republican program clearly shows that the Republican label conceals the same capitalist content as the Democratic. Both are political poison for the workers."

The leaflet concludes: "The workers can depend only on their own organizations to defend the interests of the labor movement. An Independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions, armed with a militant program to defend the living conditions and class interests of the workers would inspire millions of toilers. Labor needs a party which will be concerned not with preserving the capitalist system but only with achieving a program that will guarantee jobs and security for the workers.

"American workers must raise the cry: NO SUPPORT TO CAPITALIST POLITICIANS! BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!"

Chicago Meeting Supports 4 Jailed British Workers

CHICAGO, July 30—A large audience here tonight joined in protesting the imprisonment of the four British Trotskyists, and contributed generously to the $1,000 Solidarity Fund launched recently by the Socialist Workers Party. One Negro packinghouse worker joined the party at the close of the meeting.

Comrade Bernard Forrest, main speaker of the evening, described the methods by which British imperialism has driven down the living standards and invaded the democratic rights of the working class. The mounting resistance of the British workers, culminating in the Tyneside Apprentices' strike against conscription for labor in the mines, terrified the Tory-Labor coalition government, which then invoked the 1927 anti-labor Trade Disputes Act against four leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), on a charge of "aiding workers on strike."

FUND TO AID TROTSKYISTS IN BRITAIN PASSES $1000 GOAL

The $1,000 Solidarity Fund for the imprisoned British Trotskyists has gone over the top in barely five weeks since it was launched by the Socialist Workers Party! Members of the party and readers of *The Militant* have given a fine demonstration of international working class solidarity with the first victims of the anti-labor Trade Disputes Act.

An application for release on bail of the three comrades still in prison — Roy Tearse, Heaton Lee, and Jock Haston — has been refused by Justice Wrottesley, according to the Mid-July issue of *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain (Trotskyist). The three comrades are serving six-month to one-year terms for "aiding workers on strike." Comrade Ann Keen, sentenced to 13 days, was released on completion of her term.

The appeal for bail was based upon the following grounds, says the **Socialist Appeal. 1.** That this was the first prosecution under the Trade Disputes Act of 1927. 2. That this was an important trial to the political and industrial labor movement. 3. That there was a very substantial case in law and in fact, to be pleaded before the Court of Criminal Appeal. 4. In the event of the appeal being successful, it would be wrong that these defendants should have been kept in custody. 5. That the major counts of conspiracy and incitement to strike, were rejected by the jury, which returned a verdict of not guilty.

Two Members of Parliament, Mr. James Maxton and Mr. John McGovern, both of whom are members of the Defense Committee, had agreed to serve as sureties for the bail. In spite of the five points brought out by the appeal attorney, and the prominence of the guarantors, the judge refused bail on the grounds that the case involved "no special circumstances"! His refusal means that the three Trotskyist leaders must remain behind bars until the Court of Criminal Appeals hears their case some time in October.

We list below the amounts received by the Business Manager of **The Militant** on behalf of the British Trotskyists:

BRITISH FUND CONTRIBUTIONS
From S. W. P. Branches

Branch	Amt. Pd.
New York	186.00
Los Angeles	175.00
Chicago	115.00
San Francisco	100.00
Detroit	100.00
Seattle	75.00
Twin Cities	45.00
Buffalo	29.50
Boston	25.00
Newark	25.00
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Cleveland	15.00
Youngstown	13.00
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Akron	10.00
Philadelphia	10.00
New Haven	5.00
Allentown	5.00
Milwaukee	5.00
Quakertown	5.00
Reading	5.00
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St. Louis	5.00
TOTAL	993.50
From Individuals	20.00
TOTAL	$1013.50

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Friedrich Engels — Co-Founder Of Marxism

(August 5 marks the 49th anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels, co-author with Karl Marx of the "Communist Manifesto" and one of the two founders of the Communist movement. We reprint below excerpts from an article on Engels written nine years ago by Leon Trotsky as a review of "Engels' Letters to Karl Kautsky." The complete article was published in the June, 1936 issue of New International.)

By Leon Trotsky

During Marx's lifetime, Engels, as he himself put it, played second fiddle. But with his co-worker's last illness, and especially after the latter's death, Engels became the direct and unchallenged leader of the orchestra of world socialism for a period of twelve years. . .

Engels' insight into military matters, based not only upon his extensive special knowledge but also upon his general capacity for a synthesized appraisal of conditions and forces, enabled him to publish in the London **Pall-Mall Gazette**, during the Franco-Prussian War, remarkable military articles, ascribed to one of the highest military authorities of the time (the Messrs. "Authorities," doubtless, surveyed themselves in the mirror not without considerable astonishment). In his intimate circle Engels was dubbed with the playful name of the "General." This name is signed to a number of his letters to Kautsky.

PERSONALITY OF THE REVOLUTIONIST

Engels was not an orator, or it may be that he never had the occasion to become one. Towards "orators" he displayed even a shade of disrespect, holding, not without foundation, that they incline to turn ideas into banalities. But Kautsky recalls Engels as a remarkable conversationalist, endowed with an inexhaustible memory, remarkable wit, and precision of expression. Unfortunately, Kautsky himself is a mediocre observer, and no artist at all: in his own letters Engels stands out infinitely more clearly than in the commentaries and recollections of Kautsky.

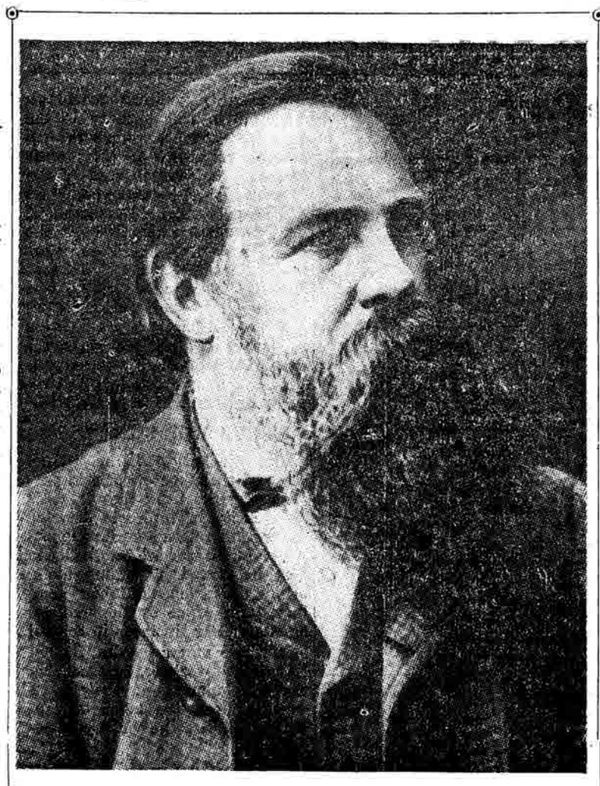
Engels' relations with people were foreign to all sentimentalism or illusions and permeated through and through with a penetrating simplicity, and therefore, profoundly human. In his company around the evening table, where representatives of various countries and continents gathered, all contrast disappeared as if by magic between the polished radical duchess Schack and the not at all polished Russian Nihilist, Vera Zasulich. The rich personality of the host manifested itself in this happy capacity to lift himself and others above everything secondary and superficial, without departing in the least either from his views or even his habits.

One would seek in vain in this revolutionist for Bohemian traits so prevalent among the radical intellectuals. Engels was intolerant of sloppiness and negligence both in small and big things. He loved precision of thought, precision in accounting, exactitude in expression and in print. When a German publisher attempted to alter his spelling Engels demanded back several galleys for revision. He wrote, "I would no sooner allow anybody to foist his spelling on me than I would a wife" (page 147). This irate and at the same time jocose sentence almost brings Engels back to life again!

In addition to his native tongue, over which his mastery was that of a virtuoso, Engels wrote freely in English, French, Italian; he read Spanish and almost all Slavic and Scandinavian languages. His knowledge of philosophy, economics, history, physics, philology, and military science would have sufficed for a goodly dozen of ordinary and extraordinary professors. But even apart from all this he possessed his main treasure: winged thought.

OPTIMISM COMBINED WITH HUMOR

In June 1884, when Bernstein and Kautsky, affecting Engels' own likes and dislikes, complained to him of the incipient pressure of all sorts of "erudite" philistines in the party, Engels said in reply, "the main thing is to concede nothing, and in addition, to remain absolutely calm" (p. 119). While the General himself did not always retain "absolute calm," in the literal sense of the term — on the contrary, he was wont on occasion to boil over magnificently — he was always able to rise quickly above temporary mishaps, and restore the necessary balance between his thoughts and emotions. The elemental side of his personality was optimism combined with humor towards himself and his enemies. In his optimism there was not a modicum of smugness — the term itself rebounds from his image. The subsoil springs of his joy of living had their source in a happy and harmonious temperament, but the latter was permeated through and through with the knowledge that brought with it the greatest of joys: the joy of creative perception.



FRIEDRICH ENGELS
1820-1895

Engels' optimism extended equally to political questions and to personal affairs. After each and any defeat he would immediately cast about for those conditions which were preparing a new upswing, and after every blow life dealt him he was able to pull himself together and look to the future. Such he remained to his dying day. There were times when he had to remain on his back for weeks in order to get over the effects he suffered from a fall during one of the "gentry's" riding to foxes. At times his aged eyes refused to function under artificial light which one cannot do without even during daytime in the London fogs. But Engels never refers to his ailments except in passing in order to explain some delay, and only in order to promise immediately thereupon that everything would shortly "proceed better," and then the work will be resumed at full speed.

COLLABORATION OF MARX AND ENGELS

One of Marx's letters has a reference to Engels' habit of playfully winking during a conversation. This helpful "winking" passes through Engels' entire correspondence. The man of duty and of profound attachments bears the least resemblance to an ascetic. He was a lover of nature and of art in all its forms, he loved the company of clever and merry people, the presence of women, jokes, laughter, good dinners, good wine and good tobacco. At times he was not averse to the belly-laughter of Rabelais who readily looked for his inspiration below the navel. In general, nothing human was alien to him. . .

Was he, perhaps, an epicurean? The secondary "boons of life" never held sway over this man. He was genuinely interested in the family morals of the savages or in the enigmas of Irish philology but always in indissoluble connection with the future destinies of mankind. If he permitted himself to joke trivially, it was only in the company of untrivial people. Underlying his humor, irony and joy of living, one always feels a moral pathos — without the slightest phrase-mongering or posturing, always deeply hidden but all the more genuine and ever ready for sacrifice. The man of commerce, the possessor of a mill, a hunter's horse and a wine cellar was a revolutionary communist to the marrow of his bones.

Kautsky does not exaggerate in the least when he states in his commentary to the correspondence that in the entire history of the world it would be impossible to find a parallel instance of two men of such powerful temperaments and ideological independence as Marx and Engels who remained throughout their entire lives so indissolubly bound together by the evolution of their ideas, their social activity and personal friendship. Engels was quicker on the uptake, more mobile, more enterprising and many-sided; Marx, more ponderous, more stubborn, harsher to himself and to others. Himself a luminary of the first magnitude, Engels recognized Marx's intellectual authority with the self-same simplicity with which he generally established his personal and political relationships.

The collaboration of these two friends — here is the context in which this word attains its fullest meaning! — extended so deeply as to make it impossible for anyone ever to establish the line of demarcation between their works. However, infinitely more important than the purely literary collaboration was the spiritual community that existed between them, and that was never broken. They either corresponded daily, sending epigrammatic notes, understanding each other with half-statements, or they carried on an equally epigrammatic conversation amid clouds of cigar smoke. For some four decades, in their continual struggle against official science and traditional superstitions, Marx and Engels served each other in place of public opinion. . .

If in his younger years Engels withdrew into the shadows of the textile industry in Manchester in order to provide Marx with the opportunity to work on Das Kapital, then, subsequently, as an old man, without complaining, and one can say with assurance, without any regrets, he put aside his own researches in order to spend years deciphering the hieroglyphic manuscripts of Marx, painstakingly checking translations, and no less painstakingly correcting his writings in almost all the European languages. No. In this "epicurean" there was an altogether uncommon stoic!

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION ABOVE ANY BOOK

Reports about the progress of the work on Marx's literary legacy provide one of the most constant leitmotifs in the correspondence between Engels and Kautsky, as well as other co-thinkers. In a letter to Kautsky's mother (1885) — a rather well-known writer of popular novels at the time — Engels expresses his hope that old Europe will finally swing into motion again, and he adds, "I only hope that sufficient time will be left for me to conclude the third volume of Das Kapital, and then, let her rip!" (p. 206). From this semi-jocular statement is clearly to be gathered the importance he attached to Das Kapital; but there is also something else to be gathered, namely, that revolutionary action stood for him above any book, even Das Kapital. . .

In 1885, Engels, referring to the German Social Democracy, which was scoring rapid victories, wrote that it was a party "free from all philistinism in the most philistine country in the world; free from all chauvinism in the most victory-drunk country in Europe" (p. 154). . . The subsequent course of events proved that Engels had visualized the future course of revolutionary development too much along the straight line. Above all he did not foresee the mighty capitalist boom which set in immediately after his death and which lasted up to the eve of the imperialist war. It was precisely in the course of these 15 years of economic full-bloodedness that the complete opportunistic degeneration of the leading circles of the labor movement took place. This degeneration was fully revealed during the war, and in the last analysis, it led to the infamous capitulation to national socialism. . .

Historical reality is infinitely richer in possibilities and in transitional stages than the imagination of the greatest genius. The value of political prognoses lies not in that they coincide with every stage of reality but in that they assist in making out its genuine development. From this standpoint, Friedrich Engels has passed the bar of history.

Testifying Against Wage Freeze

Testifying to the hardships suffered by workers' families under the wage freeze, the Zach family (above) of Bloomfield, New Jersey, appeared at a recent War Labor Board Panel hearing in Washington. Zach is a member of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union which is attempting to secure a 17c an hour increase for workers at the Westinghouse Electric plant by which he is employed. Walter Zach pointed out that he could pay medical expenses for his family only by spending small sums previously saved. Mrs. Zach testified that meat, dairy products, clothing, and other expenses had skyrocketed until her husband's $42.50 for a 48-hour week could no longer pay their bills. The two children are 5 and 3½ years old.

Wage Freezing Policy Upheld By War Labor Board Chairman

(Continued from page 1)

reasons for us to stabilize wartime wages," Davis states. "First, wages are the biggest single item of war production costs. Second, rising wages, when things to buy are scarce, are one of the main causes of rising prices." The major costs of the war are to be paid from wages by fixing the price of labor power while commodity prices and productivity soar.

The principal method for carrying out Roosevelt's wage policy has been through the enforcement of the Little Steel formula. According to Davis, this formula was adopted, not to bring wages in line with price increases, but "to correct the gross inequities" between those workers who had secured wage increases between January 1941 and September 1942 and those who had not.

At the same time, the WLB fixed a "minimum wage limit. . . within the range of practical possibilities," for "those workers whose wages are insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living." That is to say, the WLB actually established a wage "limit (which) permits employers to increase wage rates up to 40 cents an hour," and up to 50c an hour by approval of the WLB. Thus, the WLB has set a ceiling on sweat shop wages, condemning millions of subsistence wage-earners to **maximum** wages of $16 to $20 for a 40 hour week. This is equivalent to $10 to $14 a week in terms of pre-war prices.

IGNORES PRICE RISES

As a result of this policy, Davis concludes, "the general wage and price structure has been held firm and steady throughout the last twelve or fourteen months." Wages, as everyone knows, have been frozen. But the assertion that "the price structure has been held firm and steady" is an obvious lie. Indeed, nowhere in his article does Davis deal specifically with the question of the cost of living — for that would reveal the truth, that only the price of labor power has been "stabilized." The cost of living, according to the AFL and CIO surveys, has soared no less than 45.3 per cent since January 1941.

The real purpose of Davis' article is to demonstrate to the employers that the WLB has effectively stymied the wage demands of the workers and enforced its anti-union decisions in those few instances where the unions refused to comply. Davis boasts that "between January 1942 and March 1944" the WLB decided 6,750 disputes involving about 8,500,000 workers, and that "only five disputes about wages reached the stage where the Board, unable to secure voluntary compliance, had to refer the cases to the President. Three of these five involved unions; two, defiant employers."

Davis included the cases only up to March 1944 for good reason. He wants specifically to avoid mentioning the Montgomery Ward and Hummer cases, where Sewell L. Avery has successfully and repeatedly defied compliance orders of the WLB. Moreover, Davis "forgets" to mention the scores of other less widely publicized cases of employer non-compliance where, because the workers did not strike as in the Ward cases, the WLB and Roosevelt have not acted against the bosses.

ENFORCING POLICY

The two cases of employer non-compliance, involving small firms, are mentioned only in passing. Davis devotes the last third of his article to a detailed explanation of how Roosevelt has enforced compliance from unions. In the General Cable Company case, for instance, Davis relates: "At the President's order, the Navy took possession of the General Cable plant, and called on the employees to return to work. They promptly decided to accept the decision of the War Labor Board and did return to work, without the wage increase, and the plant was returned to its owners."

Davis dwells at length on the rubber workers and miners strikes last year for the purpose of demonstrating conclusively that the WLB and Roosevelt have been able successfully to deny wage increases and uphold the Little Steel formula. Indeed, the whole tenor of his article is to prove to the satisfaction of the employers that the WLB has been the most effective agency for freezing wages.

The WLB Chairman admits, in fact, that the government's wage policy has literally been rammed down the throat of American labor. "Attacks on the stabilization policy have come from most labor unions," Davis asserts.

But despite these widespread attacks, Davis boasts, "when confronted with a decision denying them an increase, or reducing the amount of increase agreed upon by the employer, the unions have — with the three exceptions mentioned — accepted the decision in the democratic way, and obeyed it."

In short, the servile trade union leaders have bowed before the anti-labor decrees of the WLB and helped it to enforce the wage freeze by curbing the militant resistance of their memberships.

ADVANCE NOTICE

The Davis article is especially significant since it appears just prior to the scheduled decision in the steel wage case. In effect, Davis has given an advance statement of the government's position on this key case even before the steel panel itself has stated its decisions. The hearings in themselves are meaningless. The WLB can only enforce the government's fixed wage-freezing "stabilization" policy. Only Roosevelt himself can change that policy, for which he is directly responsible.

This was concretely demonstrated last week, when the WLB panel denied 140,000 workers in the "Big Four" meat-packing wage case their demand for a 10 cent an hour general wage increase. The official decision declared that the packinghouse workers' wage demand was rejected "not because it is lacking in equity or reasonableness, but because it is contrary to the basic principles of wage stabilization." Here is Roosevelt's real wage policy.

HITLERITES ADMIT CRISIS PENETRATES NAZI RANKS

(Continued from page 1)

movement among the German masses, and that the so-called generals' plot was symptomatic, if not the spearhead, of that movement... While the Nazis may have quelled the abortive revolt, it can hardly be for long, if, as it appears, it was the outgrowth of something much bigger, much more serious and definitely more progressive than just a generals' plot."

Further confirmation of the developing mass resistance, both in the army and among the working class, is contained in the Stockholm dispatch from George Axelsson to the August 6 *N. Y. Times*. Axelsson reports in part: "... Stockholm observers are inclined to believe the most recent uncensored reports out of Germany of rising bewilderment and opposition there. Pieced together these mean that the July 20 attempt on Hitler's life is not a finished paragraph of history, as the Nazis would have the world, including the German home front, believe, but that, on the contrary, the situation has yet to culminate. It is on the Eastern Front that the results of the generals' insurrection show plainest. Underground reports from Germany, concurring with and confirming those from Moscow on the subject, state that entire regiments throw down their rifles and walk over to the Russian lines, the men sometimes being led by their officers and at other times acting on their own initiative."

OPPOSITION GROWS

Inside Germany, Axelsson reports, the latest events have caused the "lukewarms and the politically indifferent, the masses of 'in-between'" to "make up their political minds and join the opposition." A further significant sign is the fact that foreign slave laborers "have deserted in droves from factories and farms...streams of foreign laborers are already hiking back to their lands, with German farmers along the road sheltering and feeding them at overnight rests." One of the primary functions of Himmler's "home guards" has become "to keep foreign workers 'good' and to crush revolts among them."

Axelsson further observes: "Add to this the fact that most Germans outside the army and party have not eaten a really square, substantial meal for four years, that practically all of them are worrying about themselves or about the fate of some relative, that millions are homeless and propertyless and that the reichsmark has sunk so low that only landlords, restaurants and the rare amusement places still in business accept them, and that they do so only because they have to by law, and one begins to have an idea of what things are like in today's Germany."

Capitalist Rivalry In Latin America Mirrored By Developments In Mexico

By A. Roland

South America and Mexico are physically remote from the actual scenes of battle of the Second World War. Yet the war is having a profound influence on all these countries. It has in particular speeded up the processes of raw material extraction and capitalist industrialization. Socially and politically this has had the effect, witnessed openly in one country after the other, of precipitating conflicts already present concerning control over the wealth and destinies of the nation. Mexico, in many ways the most advanced of the Latin American Republics, is adding stirring new chapters to its hectic historic development.

Mexico is a large country with rich though limited resources. Aside from agriculture, which supports the majority of its population, minerals and oil form its two greatest natural resources. The early governments in the period of independence, under the unrelenting pressure of imperialist nations, particularly the United States, betrayed the Mexican people to foreign capital. The Mexican bourgeoisie was much too poverty-stricken financially to undertake large-scale developments. But this meant that the enormous wealth extracted from the soil was drained off to other countries, little remaining to help strengthen native capitalism.

COLONIAL CAPITALISTS

It is an inevitable law of the development of colonial and semi-colonial countries that the native ruling class strives to secure for itself a larger and larger share of the riches taken out of the country by the foreign exploiters. The earlier Mexican regimes that were completely subservient to monopoly capitalism, gave way to governments that strove to get a better share for the native capitalists. International monopoly capitalism refused to go shares with the Mexicans. President Cardenas, taking full advantage of the world situation after the advent of Hitler to power in Germany, managed to regain most of the oil lands and other wealth in the struggle carried on under the slogan of the "Reconquest of Mexico for the Mexicans."

Cardenas was fully aware of the tremendous power wielded by British and American imperialism. He knew that Mexico might be made to suffer under the blows that foreign finance capital would aim at a rebellious government. It was necessary to enlist the enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice of the masses of peasants and workers if Mexico was to succeed in the struggle. The Mexican bourgeoisie enlisted the aid of the masses by offering a radical program for bettering the conditions of the peasants on the one hand and the workers on the other.

The peasants were offered land from the big estates. This process of land division, partially carried out, coincides with the desire of native capitalism to establish a nation-wide internal market for the bourgeoisie, based on capitalist forms of agriculture. The workers were supported in their demands for higher wages and better conditions when these demands were directed — as they naturally had to be in most cases — against the foreign exploiters. More than this, the workers of the large industries were even encouraged to gain a say in the administration of the industry.

The Mexican capitalists wished to squeeze out the United States and British interests. The action of the working class was a distinct aid to them in this process. It helped to take control out of the hands of the foreigners, at the same time giving this process the guise of a humanitarian movement for the betterment of the masses. But the masses learn rapidly from such experience to act in their own interests, quite apart from the desires of the capitalists. It is always dangerous from the point of view of the exploiters to set the masses of workers in motion, to set them on the road of struggle for their own aims. Thus the moment the Mexican bourgeoisie, under the leadership of Cardenas, had achieved its own goal, far beyond what it had thought possible, it felt compelled to put a sharp brake on the trade unions and the activities of the workers.

CARDENAS AND CAMACHO

Cardenas had carried out the progressive aims of the bourgeoisie. The usual division of labor among sections of the ruling class assigns the present President Camacho the task of braking the working class movement and making it more amenable to native capitalist exploitation. Cardenas had, however, prepared the way for this very denouement during his own presidency. He had seen to it that real unity between the workers and peasants in what appeared to be a common struggle, was never achieved. Cardenas, by his system of checks and balances of various forces, was following the traditional method of the Mexican caudillos in maintaining a precarious rule.

Politics in Mexico, as throughout South America, is anything but democratic. The army generals hardly disguise their rule by selection of an individual leader as dictator. Before 1929 real parties did not exist in Mexico. There were merely many cliques representing personal followings of powerful individuals. The dictator, in the period from 1917 to 1928, distributed government posts among these cliques, balancing one against another.

In 1928 Calles founded the method existing at present in Mexico. He established an "official" party, the PNR or Partido Nacional Revolucionario. Theoretically other parties were not banned. Yet all public or government employes were required to belong to the official party. Portes Gil, when President, created too open a scandal when in 1930 he ordered every civil servant to chip in one day's pay each month to the "party." This decree was later revoked, but remained an actuality as an "understanding."

Calles had his personal party, the PNR. When Cardenas broke with Calles, the political consequence of this break, was the formation of a new "party," the PRM or Mexican Revolutionary Party. This was declared to be a party consisting not of classes but of various "sectors" — the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the government employes, the middle class. Delegates from each of these categories met in convention to determine party policy.

Of course the "delegates" were hand-picked by the administration. The "unorganized" sectors had their representatives designated for them by state governors and local caudillos. The soldiers of the army were naturally permitted to send their generals. Labor's delegates were not elected by the unions but chosen by the executive committees, themselves stamped with the approval of the heads of the government.

(To be continued)

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Bosses Fear Threat To Political Monopoly Involved In Labor's Independent Action

The slightest hint of a possible breach in the political monopoly exercised by America's Sixty Families leads to a furious assault by the agents of the ruling capitalist class. Even so timid and halting a step toward labor's political "independence" as the organization of the CIO Political Action Committee calls forth bitter opposition from the political deputies of Big Business and the kept press. Reaching a convulsive fury during the recent Democratic National Convention, the boss-controlled politicians and press have kept up a running fire against the PAC since its formation.

"NO THIRD PARTY"

Hillman and Murray give oft-repeated assurances that they have no intention of challenging the two-party system under which the employing class maintains its political monopoly, and that they are opposed to any and all "third party" movements. But they have failed to allay the fear that the PAC contains within itself the germ of labor's independent political action which, under certain circumstances, will blossom into a "third party", despite all assurances to the contrary.

ORIGINS OF PAC

Actually the organization of the PAC was intended to head off the formation of an Independent Labor Party. The reactionary anti-labor measures accompanying America's entry into the war, imposed jointly by the Democratic and Republican parties, tended to discredit the two major capitalist parties in the eyes of the workers. Roosevelt's "liberal" reputation, so carefully nurtured by the labor fakers, was considerably tarnished by his open swing to reaction. A pronounced sentiment developed among important sections of the labor movement for the launching of labor's own political party.

Fearing a decisive break with their "friend" in the White House, Murray-Hillman and Company announced that the CIO was forming its own "Political Action Committee." Paying lip service to the idea of labor's independent political action, the PAC was devised to prevent the American working class from playing a genuinely independent role in the political life of the nation. The role of the PAC under the Hillman-Murray leadership is that of channelizing the discontent of the workers with the two capitalist parties into support for the candidates of those parties.

ORGANIZED BY LABOR

The contention that such support because it is organized, financed and led by the "labor statesmen" constitutes independent political action is a piece of monstrous deception. By clinging to the capitalist two-party system, by discouraging the exercise of labor's independent political power, the PAC serves to bolster the political monopoly of Big Business.

BIG BUSINESS FEARFUL

The question arises: If the PAC serves the political interests of Big Business, why do agents of the dominant section of the employing class attack it so viciously? Just as a powerful section of the capitalist class has lost confidence in Roosevelt's ability to keep the working class in subjection by demagogic means and are pressing for more drastic measures, so are they distrustful of the ability of Hillman-Murray to keep the PAC confined to the limitations imposed upon it by the labor bureaucrats. With an intensification of political reaction leading to a sharpening of the class struggle and an upsurge in the working class the dam in which Hillman-Murray attempt to contain labor's elemental striving toward independent political action, will be burst asunder.

HILLMAN AND MURRAY

Under the impact of a severe crisis the Hillman-Murray deception will prove no more effective than Roosevelt's demagogy in holding back the surging tide of labor's independent action. The political immaturity of the American working class is expressed by a lack of class consciousness. The two-party system thrives on the fiction that the Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of "the people." That is a patent fraud! Under the guise of serving the interests of "the people", both capitalist parties put through the interests of the exploiting class.

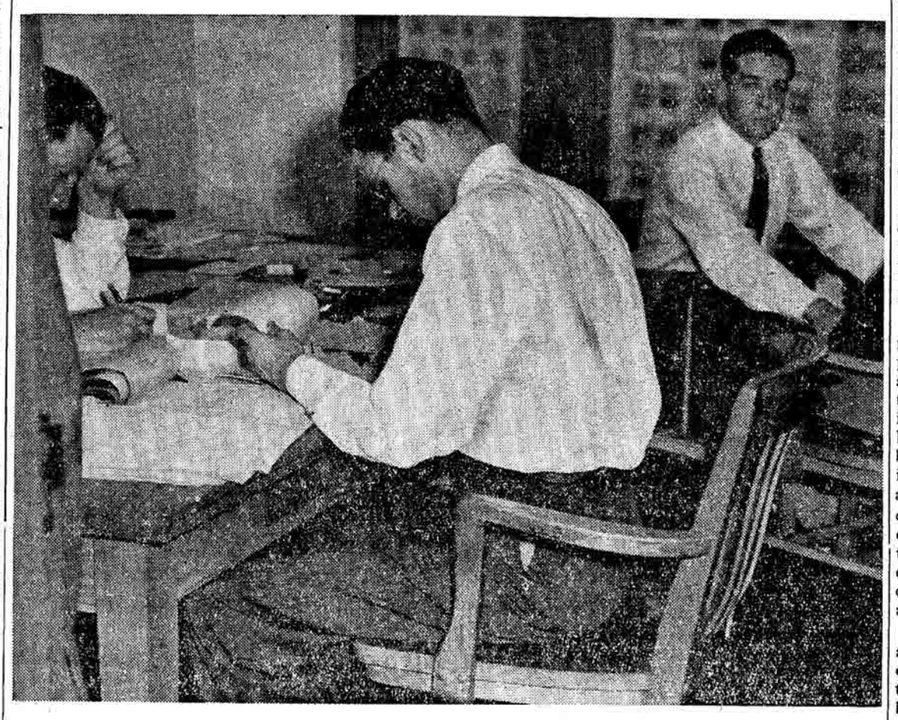
The CIO Political Action Committee bases itself on the most dynamic section of the American trade-union movement and attempts to mobilize the workers for political action apart from the existing political machines. Inherent in this activity is the "danger" that the workers will become conscious of their class interests as counterposed to the interests of the employing class and destroy forever the fiction of the non-class character of the Democratic and Republican parties. It is this development that the employing class fears. For once the American working class becomes conscious of its position in society as a political class, the death knell of Big Business political monopoly erected on its two-party system, will have sounded.

DECEIVE WORKERS

The treachery of Hillman-Murray and their cohorts lies in perpetuating the hoax that there is an identity of interests between the working class and the exploiting class. That these interests can best be served by tailing along behind the "friends of labor" nominated for office by the political agents of Big Business in control of the two major parties. By deceiving the workers, by hindering the development of their class consciousness, the labor bureaucrats facilitate the victory of reaction.

But the fears of Big Business are well grounded. The formation of the PAC testified to the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties were hopelessly compromised in the eyes of a considerable section of the workers. In spite of the wishes of Hillman and Murray the class consciousness of thousands of CIO militants will be stimulated by the political experience they are now going through. It is these militants who, despite the assurances and against the opposition of the labor bureaucrats, will lead the movement forward by breaking decisively with the existing parties of the exploiting class and launching their own Independent Labor Party.

Federal Agents Investigate PAC



Three Federal agents are photographed as they pored over the books and financial accounts of the CIO Political Action Committee at its head quarters in New York City. One if the agents admitted that the PAC has been "under scrutiny" fo r some time. (Photo reprinted by courtesy of PM)

America's University System: A Vested Interest Of Big Business

By Miriam Carter

Another graduation class has passed on its way from the portals of America's universities, to the accompaniment of the trite speeches of university presidents, urging their erstwhile students to "go into the world" and "become good citizens." By "good citizens," the professors mean loyal supporters of the capitalist class which has made it possible for the professors to lead their comfortable lives far removed from the privations and misery of the working class.

These speeches cannot be passed off as merely the mouthings of a few hypocrites who have found a soft berth for themselves as "leaders of education." They express the philosophy and the point of departure of our whole educational system which is controlled from top to bottom by America's Sixty Families, and is designed to maintain their ruling position over every phase of American life.

DOLLAR DOMINATION

A glance at the list of donors to America's leading colleges, as well as their boards of trustees, provides ample evidence that a few powerful and wealthy figures dominate the colleges. In his study of this question Ferdinand Lundberg, in "America's Sixty Families," reports that J. P. Morgan and Company manages directly Harvard University, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Pennsylvania. Morgan-Rockefeller interests manage Yale University; Rockefeller manages the University of Chicago and Cornell; National City Bank manages Columbia University and Princeton; Eastman-Kodak manages University of Rochester; the Du Pont family manages the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and the Andrew Mellon interests manage the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

These are only a few examples. Looking over the Boards of Trustees of seventeen of America's leading colleges we find that out of 659 trustees, 254 are bankers, 141 manufacturers and merchants, 111 are public utilities executives, and 63 are railroad tycoons.

Since these few capitalists run the colleges and support them financially, as business men they expect, and get, a good return on their investments.

Education is peddled on the open market like a bunch of bananas or a pound of meat. If you can pay for it you can get it, if not—you're out of luck. Since tuition fees in most universities are high, only children whose families are in the higher income brackets can afford to go to college. Most youngsters from working class families cannot even go to the few state universities where tuition is relatively cheap, because they cannot find the money to keep themselves for four years, or they have to go to work to help support their families. As a rule only exceptionally brilliant students, or exceptionally good athletes, are accepted by colleges if they come from working class families.

Who attends their colleges is not so vitally important to the educational tycoons, however, as what is taught there. Before the great industrialization of the United States the function of colleges was the education, mostly in theology, of the sons of the rich. With the rapid expansion of industry came a great demand from the robber barons for mechanical engineers, physicists, chemists, and all types of technologists to supervise their vast plants. They have set up large and elaborate schools for the teaching of physical and mechanical sciences, as well as law, business and medicine, to which middle class persons can aspire to attend.

The progress made by these institutions in the field of science has produced inventions which, if harnessed for the use of the working class instead of for the profit of the greedy few, could raise the standard of living of the masses to new heights. The capitalists, however, "hypnotized by the profit-producing power of science . . . have prostituted the ultimate aims of science (to). . . serve . . . a few stock promoters of companies like General Electric, General Motors, American Telephone and Telegraph, and the United States Steel Corporation." (Lundberg, "America's Sixty Families.")

These "philanthropists" when they present their donations to the colleges (by the way, a favorite tax-dodging technique) earmark them for use in "(a) the physical sciences and techniques (b) the development of schools of business and commercial administration and related departments of modern foreign languages and literature, and (c) sports stadia, dormitories, clubhouses, and other adjuncts of campus sociability."

James Duke, tobacco millionaire, gave $40 million to Trinity College in Durham, North Carolina (which promptly became Duke University). He accompanied the "gift" with this crude expression of the bourgeois aims of education: "I don't believe that a college education does a man any good in business except for the personal satisfaction it gives him. But when you have a great community growing like the Carolinas you've got to have five kinds of leaders whose minds are trained. The first is preachers, the second is teachers, the third is lawyers, the fourth is chemists and engineers and the fifth is doctors." (N. Y. World-Telegram, June 29)

SUPERVISED SCIENCE

Liberal as they are in their encouragement in these fields, where they see a good dollars and cents return, the Big Business directors of education keep an especially watchful eye and a firm hand over the social science departments. Big Business does not fight with club, tear gas and gun, the struggles of the workers for a few more cents in their pay envelopes, only to have their whole rule subjected to criticism or condemnation by inquisitive professors. Ever since 1890 hundreds of professors, who sat in their professorial chairs by the grace of the United States Steel, Morgan or Rockefeller, have been dumped from the university payrolls. The reason — daring to question or mildly criticize a barbaric social system which insures fabulous wealth for a handful and grinding poverty for the many.

Courageous men who bucked this tremendous reactionary power, have been persecuted and vilified for their efforts. Thorstein Veblen, anti-capitalist economist of the early 20th century, and John R. Commons, his contemporary, a student of labor history, were ousted from their jobs. Scott Nearing was thrown out of the University of Pennsylvania because of his radical views, and Dr. Charles A. Beard, famous historian and a proponent of civil rights during the First World War, found life in Columbia University made so uncomfortable for him that he was forced to resign. He left, denouncing "the few obscure and wilful trustees who now dominate the university and terrorize young instructors."

TOWARD THE TRUTH

Today Big Business has turned the entire school system from kindergarten to the universities into a gigantic propaganda machine for its war. The schools have become mere patriotic appendages of the war machine—selling bonds, salvaging scrap, recruiting for the armed forces, etc. The colleges have been turned into barracks, with all their facilities aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the war's destructive instruments. All questioning and independent thought is squelched in this atmosphere. Every pertinent fact that would reveal the true nature of imperialist war is ignored, or so twisted that it has lost all semblance to reality.

Despite these attempts of Big Business and of their hireling professors to reduce the college youth of America to the status of so many unthinking tools of capitalist reaction, history will intervene to point a new course to the young men and women entering upon the lifestream of industry.

Recurring wars, recurring depressions and the steady encroachment on the democratic rights of the people, teach the youth the true nature of decaying capitalism. Already some of the most courageous and clear-thinking among them are turning away from the capitalist schools toward the schools of the revolutionary Marxist movement. They are finding in the truths of Trotskyism the antidote to the poisonous lies of capitalism and its apologists.

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Michigan Party Launched By State Founding Convention

(Continued from page 1)

ed at Lansing resulted from the failure on the part of the MCF leadership to push its program in the trade unions. There is hardly a local CIO union in Michigan where an energetic campaign would not have borne fruit. The trade union clubs formed thus far resulted from the work of rank and file militants who received little or no support from the leadership. Hammond blandly informed the convention that he could very easily have obtained the affiliation to the MCF of Local 157, UAW-CIO, of which he is president, but he preferred not to have block affiliates. Delegates sent by previously affiliated unions were seated with one vote each, like members at large, whereas Commonwealth Club delegates averaged more than ten votes each.

This was the same Hammond who refused to fight for the MCF at the recent Michigan CIO convention and went along with the PAC-CIO policy of support to the Democratic Party ticket. Hammond and Silver did not want to buck the trade union bureaucracy, hoping thereby to obtain PAC support for a handful of MCF nominees for relatively minor posts. Their perspective is to postpone the building of the party into an effective political instrument until AFTER the 1944 elections.

The group following the Socialist Party policy opposed affiliation of the trade unions because they feared that their influence would be nil if the unions joined the MCF. They favored the organization of a caricature of their own "all inclusive" party as opposed to the formation of a genuine mass political party of the workers. Opposed to both groups were the rank and file militants who went out to organize as many trade union clubs as possible and presented their own program against that of the trade union bureaucrats.

Concentrating their attention on the unions, these militants pushed the other groups forward in this direction at every possible opportunity, prevented personal and petty squabbles from disrupting the labor party nucleus thus far established, and made it possible for the MCF to present its own program, at least in some districts, against the program of the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties.

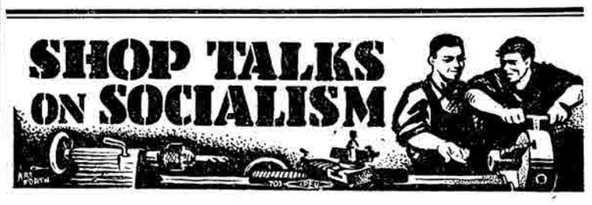
The platform adopted by the MCF convention stands in sharp contrast to the Democratic and Republican platforms and represents a serious attempt to cope with the problems of the workers and their allies. The delegates rejected an ambiguous clause on the "fight against fascism" lest it be construed into support for the imperialist war. The final wording left no doubt that the ranks understood the nature of fascism and that the fight against it had to be conducted right here at home. The policy of American imperialism in propping up Darlan and Badoglio was unanimously condemned.

The platform as originally drawn called for the retention of government-owned plants but spoke of "returning" some to private ownership. The latter clause was stricken out over the opposition of the platform committee. It was made clear that the MCF favored government control and operation of these plants as public utilities. A clear statement on labor's rights was set forth and progressive demands were adopted on the questions of taxation, farm security, civil rights, education, etc.

A clause barring members of other political parties from belonging to the MCF was adopted. This is an extremely dangerous provision which can be used by bureaucrats against advocates of advanced political ideas.

As Hammond pointed out, there were all shades of political opinion within the MCF. He stated that he was for learning how to work together since only by permitting full expression to all political viewpoints within the labor movement will the workers be able to make a free choice. This was an apt answer to the superficial windbag who monopolized the time of the convention to rail against "small sectarian groups" and "tired radicals." The militant workers in Michigan are thirsting for political knowledge and have begun to realize they can learn very little from such wiseacres.

Officers elected by the convention besides chairman Hammond are three vice-chairmen, Simeon Martin, Miriam Lee of Detroit and John Taylor of Hazel Park, secretary-treasurer, I. Copilowish of Detroit, and three trustees, Dr. Edgar Keemer and Roy Snowden of Detroit and Adrian Jensen of Lansing. Nominated as candidates for the state senate are Simeon Martin, president of the Michigan Farmers Union; Carl Giese, labor leader of Van Dyke; Ben Garrison, former president of Ford Highland Park Local 400, UAW-CIO and Lawrence Piercey, organizer of the State, County and Municipal Employees AFL, Detroit. Nominated as candidates for the State House of Representatives are Elton R. Hansen, Lansing soft drink distributor; Andrew A. Michelson, education chairman of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, Flint; and Earl Despeller, Mecosta County.



By V. Grey

Not only do machines put men out of work under capitalism, but men put machines out of work, too.

Remember when we were on W.P.A.? Fifty of us would grade a park lawn with spades and picks. One man with a bull-dozer could have done three-fourths of the work. But we sweated away, and the bull-dozer rusted. In the depression, nearly all the machinery rusted, and people starved. What kind of a crazy system do you call that? But lots of people figured that was all right, because if you used the bulldozers and other machinery, still more people would be thrown out of work, and there would be still more starvation.

And it works that way at other times too. Take those fellows in the lime pit at the steel mills, bent over all day long, throwing tons and tons of limestone by hand into the iron coffins. (Giant charging pans filled at different times with scrap iron, lime, manganese, etc. The contents are emptied into an open hearth furnace by a big floor crane.) Mike, the oldest, has been at it for 23 years. Henry, the youngest, is just up from the South. There are five of them, all hefty guys. But if you watch them a minute, you can see that it's not an easy job even for them. Young Henry is six foot two, with bulging muscles and big shoulders but he sweats in streams and rivers, while the lime dust sticks uncomfortably to his brown skin. The cotton fields were never like this! And old Mike, for all his being used to the job, has to stop and straighten up every so often. Shocking up the wheat in a Sicilian field is only a forgotten dream now.

They're Putting a Machine Out of Work

How many times they sneak a look over at the railroad crane loading the limestone into the big gondolas from the huge stockpile at the dock. It's so quick and easy, the way those cars are loaded by the crane. And here they strain their guts to heave the stuff from the platform over into the coffins. Nearly a ton to a coffin. It's heavier than coal, and more awkward to handle. Fifteen to twenty coffins per man to load in a day. They take a couple of hours to load four or five apiece. Then the engine comes, hooks onto the buggies, takes them to the furnaces, and in a few minutes comes back again with another bunch, and they start all over again.

They feel funny when they look at that crane over there picking up half a ton at a time. But year in and year out, sunshine, storm and freeze-ears weather they will load by hand and the crane will be over by the dock.

Well, they're putting a machine out of work, aren't they? There's five in the gang. The crane with one man outside, and one inside could do all the work. The bosses say there's a labor shortage don't they? Here's a chance for them to get three extra men. Why don't they put a crane in the lime pit?

The answer is simple. It wouldn't pay them. They don't see any profit in it. They can hire a man for 80 cents an hour. If they went to hire a crane, it would be $8 an hour. So if five men can do the work by hand why should the company spend an extra four dollars per hour? Over where they're loading the big gondolas, the crane is saving the labor of 15 or 20 men. So it "pays" to use it there.

Even the Army Is a Relief from That Work

For years and years in the open hearth, the third helpers used to have to stand for hours at a time in front of the white hot furnace, while they shovelled in piles of dolomite against the back wall of the furnace to build up the banks that the molten steel tears down. After wages began to rise due to labor's struggles, and an increased demand for steel made a quick turnover much more profitable, they invented a "gun" which could shoot a ton of this dolomite through the furnace doors against the back wall ten times quicker and just as accurately as the third helpers did by hand. **The year that was invented the stretcher carriers had it easy for a while. Of course the third helpers still had to shovel in to build up the sides and the front where the gun couldn't reach. But the company made more profits and everybody was happy.**

But wait! They cooked up other methods too. And pretty soon the furnaces could be tapped oftener than before. This meant record-breaking steel production in 1943. But they rode hell out of the furnaces. As a result, not only the banks of the furnace crumbled from the heat and weight of the steel, but the bottoms blew out too. More bad bottoms — the bane of a third helpers life. They have to shovel a heavy slag mixture into the furnace for hour after hour, with no time off for lunch. And as the other furnaces are tapped, a couple of third helpers go over and take care of them, short-handed. This happens at least once a week.

On the bulletin board by the time-clock are a lot of post cards from fellows in the army, some in basic training. Every other one says, "No bad bottoms here," or "No more bad bottoms!" So they even look on the army as a relief from that work.

Since the dolomite gun was invented the third helpers have wished many times, when they were wilting, open-mouthed and glassy-eyed in that heat, that someone would invent a machine to repair the furnace bottoms too. Sometimes they discuss how one could be constructed. But suppose it could be. It would be used only once a week or so. A machine has to be used constantly to pay for itself. And an open hearth furnace should have a "rest" once in a while anyway. So where would the profit be for the company?

Machines Will Work — If There's Profit Gained

You find the same thing on the other side of the furnaces, down in the pit, where the ladles stand to catch the steel and slag, when they "tap out." There's always a labor gang cleaning up the slag with pick and shovel. Sometimes they'll struggle an hour or so with a tough pile they can't loosen up. Finally a railroad crane will come along and dig it up with a big scoop-shovel in about ten minutes. What do you suppose the guy with the pick feels like? Why he feels like a damn fool for having bothered with it at all.

But the bosses aren't going to have the crane standing there all the time. For one thing, they'd have to build a special track for it, so it wouldn't be in the way of the ladle cars and ingot buggies. And the other reasons that exist in the case of the limestone would have the same effect here, too.

Another Reason for Booting Out the Bosses

Here in this country is the most gigantic machinery ever created. But the Morgans, Duponts and Rockefellers will only use it or install it where they see a profit in it. You can fill your lungs with lime or coal dust, you can get rheumatism or water-on-the-knee in the mines, pneumonia working on the furnaces — you can strain yourself blue in the face to do a job that a machine could do without half trying. And you can keep right on doing it just so long as there's no profit for the boss in the machine. It's your funeral, not his.

That's another reason we'll have to give the capitalists the boot. We're in the great majority and our lives have got to have more consideration than their nickels. We're not going to go around with the shakes when we're not even old. And you can bet your last cent we're not going to doom our kids to it either. We're going to nationalize the factories, mines and shops and run things through our own elected committees. We'll run them in such a way that every workingman can hold up his head and not feel like a horse pinch-hitting for a machine.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Salutary Signpost

A striking example of what can be gained by the Negro voters when they line up with an independent working-class political party appeared in last week's news. In Lansing, Michigan was held the first convention of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, a newly formed party of the working people designed to wrest control from the Democratic and Republican wings of the capitalist vulture.

That the only way to racial equality is down the road of working class solidarity has often been pointed out by The Militant. A review of the racial planks in the official MCF platform adopted at Lansing should further convince us of the correctness of this formulation. Section XI on Civil Rights reads as follows:

"We demand the enactment of federal, state and municipal laws making it a criminal offense for any public institution or individual to discriminate against any person for reasons of race, color, religion, nationality or sex, or for any public institution, private business, organization or individual to set forth segregation of races as a part of any social contract.

CRIMINAL OFFENSE

"We call for the elimination of the poll tax by act of Congress, the passage of anti-lynching legislation, the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the armed forces and the establishment of a permanent federal and state committee on fair employment practices."

The flatfooted demand for laws making SEGREGATION OF RACES by any public institution, private business, organization or individual a CRIMINAL OFFENSE is the fulcrum of the entire race question. A program must include this demand if it is intended to really pull up racial oppression by its vicious roots. Halfway platforms which take a few noisy steps but do not reach this balance point will not tip the board to the other side.

UPROOT SEGREGATION

America's "60 Families" are able to maintain their stranglehold on the masses by splitting the working class into different segments based mainly on custom, skill and appearance. Forced segregation is THE knife of division as far as racial segmentation is concerned. It is the only measure used by the American ruling class to divide the workers which reaches the brazen depths of officially sanctioned, uncloaked, barefaced fraud. Racial prejudice, discrimination, intolerance, brutalizings and lynchings are only thorny offshoots springing from this poisonous stem of separatism.

Any measure that thus splits the workers and thereby detains them from their historic task of liberating the oppressed people, of ending the exploitation of man by man and putting us on the road to world socialism, is certainly a criminal offense. In the eyes of proletarian justice, it should be dealt with as such.

The faking candidates of the major parties who are mere agents of the capitalist exploiters can never go so far as to demand and bring about an end to all segregation because that is a valued possession of their vile master whose boots they lick after they leave the speaker's platform. As predicted in the July 8 issue of The Militant, the outright abolition of Governmental segregation in the Army and in public housing as set forth by the 25 Negro organizations was not demanded by either the Republican or the Democratic platforms. They did not, because, by their very nature, they could not. The degeneracy of this "democratic two-party system" to the point where it is "heads they win and tails we lose" deserves, not our support, but our unmerciful exposure.

The demand for equality will only be met by the independent labor movement. In political action it must, of necessity, demand abolition of segregation because that is the only way working class solidarity can be attained or assured. Only through such solidarity can the masses, pink and brown, gain the strength to remove the yoke of oppression from their weary neck.

Not only did the MCF platform cover every one of the actual demands of the Negro voters' ultimatum but also it recognized the need to revamp the educational system to prevent the recurrence of this cancer of racial intolerance. In this they are correct, for all the laws to abolish segregation would be insecure unless the means of public education were also converted so as to tell the people the truth. In the section of the MCF platform on education we find the following statement:

WORKERS' CONVENTION

"The MCF favors the inclusion of instruction in the social studies curricula of Michigan secondary schools, factual information which will expose and combat the social and economic factors which breed racial prejudice." This is the type of a program which would never be advocated nor carried out by the political wings of capitalism, that decadent institution which thrives not on material facts but on misinformation and deceit. Such education would expose capitalism itself.

According to newspaper reports, this first convention drew only 173 delegates representing around 6,000 dues paying members which doesn't as yet represent a very large segment of the working class vote of Michigan. But it is easy to predict that labor is bound to be forced by circumstances into independent political action simply because it is gaining no solution to its problems from the old line parties. This fact is doubly true for the brown workers who are more politically advanced because of the additional oppression loaded on their backs by the mechanics of the present economic system.

In the meantime the platform adopted by this convention of working people should serve as another signpost for the brown worker in his quest for complete equality. The more the MCF turns toward the organized workers, the more safe and strong will be their excellent planks on Negro equality.

Pioneer Pamphlets

CAPITALIST DECLINE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORMS

Under present conditions, in order to force the capitalists to make important concessions, we must *break their wills;* this can be done only by a revolutionary offensive. But a revolutionary offensive, which opposes one class to another, cannot be developed solely under slogans of partial economic demands. We have here a vicious circle. This is the principal reason for the stagnation of the United Front.

The general Marxist thesis, "Social reforms are only the by-products of the revolutionary struggle," has in the epoch of the decline of capitalism the most immediate and burning importance. The capitalists are able to cede something to the workers only if they are threatened with the loss of everything.

However, even the greatest "concessions" of which contemporary capitalism — itself in a blind alley — is capable, are completely insignificant in comparison with the misery of the masses and the depth of the social crisis. This is why the most immediate of all demands must be for the expropriation of the capitalists and the nationalization (socialization) of the means of production. But is not this demand unrealizable under the rule of the bourgeoisie? Quite so! That is why we must seize power.

(From "Whither France?" by Leon Trotsky, page 61. Pioneer Publishers, 1936; 160 pp. $1 cloth, 75c. paper. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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Transit Company Inspires Anti-Negro Strike; Employers Accused Of Fomenting Race Hatred

(Continued from page 1)

a clause barring Negroes from operators' jobs.

Last November, local Negro organizations, after persistent pressure and agitation supported by nearly 400,000 Negroes in Philadelphia, were able to wring an order from the FEPC requiring the traction company to hire and upgrade workers without racial discrimination. The company opposed the FEPC ruling, hiding behind its Jim-Crow company-union "contract."

After the CIO won sole collective bargaining rights, the company suddenly "agreed" to comply with the FEPC directive and announced it was going to train 8 Negroes for operators' jobs. This was the signal for anti-Negro placards to be posted on company walls—which the management permitted. Open agitation against Negro hiring and upgrading became rife—on company property and with the knowledge of the company. Company officials were "warned" in advance that a group of 200 white workers intended to "quit" if it complied with the FEPC order.

CIO officials point out that the company never issued an appeal for a return to work; Mitten (company official) urged "settlement" of the "strike" by rescinding the FEPC order; admitted knowing about anti-Negro placards and literature on his property; the company turned off the power on a subway line, when a group of union men agreed to return to work. McMenamin replied to a reporter's question on the source of his finances: "We don't have to worry about money. We're getting plenty from higher-up."

CAPITALIST PRESS

The capitalist press conspired to conceal or minimize the complicity of the company. The Big Business press seized on this company-inspired action to launch an anti-labor campaign against all genuine progressive struggles in the workers' interests. At the same time, the press fed fuel to the anti-Negro flames, which threatened to burst into violent hoodlum assaults against the Negroes, with scare-head stories about "Negro terror gangs roaming city," and playing up every incident of Negro-white physical conflict.

Almost from the first, city officials declared they were "helpless," while company union agents were being driven to meetings in police cars. The walkout was halted only after the Army, under orders from President Roosevelt, took over the transportation system, threatened to revoke draft deferments of all strikers, and bar them from jobs for "the duration," and manned the public conveyances with armed troops. Four leaders, including McMenamin and Carney, were arrested on charges of violating the Smith-Connally law and released under $2500 bail.

The workers stayed out for three days after the Army moved in. They did not believe that Roosevelt's government, which upholds Jim-Crow discrimination and segregation throughout the armed forces, really "meant business." Thus, McMenamin, on Friday morning, told workers at a mass meeting to return to work with the statement: "As we are going under Government operation, there will be no colored operators."

GOVERNMENT JIM-CROW

At the noon meeting previously, strikers had defied the army back-to-work order with shouts of "Put us in the Army where we can fight beside white men!" A clear reference to the government's own Jim-Crow in the armed forces. One worker declared: "Why doesn't the President put them (Negroes) on the streetcars right under his nose in Washington?"

The CIO leadership failed to influence the workers because it had no fighting program to better their conditions and unite them in common struggle against their real enemies, the bosses. Underneath their misdirected attack against the Negro workers, lie real grievances against the company, a real fear of insecurity, which company demagogues were able to direct against Negroes "wanting to take your jobs."

NEGRO MASSES

Car operators in this city are over-worked and low-paid. Since the war they have been working seven days a week, 80 and 90 hours, even as much as 120 hours a week. Starting pay has remained as low as 77 cents an hour. The TWU has negotiated some slight increases; but these are now entangled in the red tape of the War Labor Board.

The Negro people, faced with terrorism, did not take the threats lying down. While they were careful to avoid provocations, they were prepared to defend themselves against any hoodlum assaults. Virtually the entire Negro community was aroused to the situation. The temper of the Negro masses was such that none of the Negro leaders or organizations dared to suggest "compromising" and agreeing to back down on the FEPC order. The resentment of the Negroes boiled over in a few instances, deliberately exaggerated by the boss press, of attacks on white passers-by in Negro neighborhoods, and the breaking of store windows.

Behind these manifestations are the economic and social indignities suffered by the Negro masses in Philadelphia, discriminated against in employment, forced to live in the worst housing, insulted by backward whites on every hand. Their economic plight has been aggravated by the great increase of the Negro population during the war years; 50,000 of them have migrated to this city for war jobs.

Although the transit workers have gone back to work there can be no denying that the labor movement has been dealt a terrible blow. The ranks of the union have been split. The poison of race hatred still infects the workers. They can be united once more only when the union proves to them in action that it is defending their real interests and offering them some security against prospective unemployment. Only in common struggle for their own needs against the offensive of the employers and government, will the workers, Negro and white, forge unbreakable unity.

Secret Diplomacy

Churchill's Speech Discloses Fear Of Impending Working Class Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

ary pattern. The peoples themselves are not consulted nor their demands or desires taken into account. Everything is settled by bargaining between the powers and their agents behind closed doors. Thus Stalin is given "friendly" governments on the borders of the USSR in return for his guarantee to preserve capitalist property relations and to join in attempts to put down the independent revolutionary actions of the insurgent masses.

REACTIONARY DEALS

One by one the secret decisions made at Teheran by these conspirators are coming to light. In his speech Churchill disclosed that Europe has been divided into spheres of influence among the Allies. Stalin has apparently been awarded sway over such eastern European countries as Rumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia. Churchill made a special point of impressing upon the Rumanians that they "primarily must make their terms with Russia."

England for her part maintains her traditional suzerainty over the Mediterranean region, as Churchill explicitly noted. "In the eastern Mediterranean it has fallen to us to handle most of the business. We keep our two great Allies informed constantly of everything we do, and we endeavor, not without good fortune in the main, to carry our Allies with us." The kind of dirty business Churchill's government is engaged in there can be seen when he boasted of "a measure of success" in getting the Greek Navy to sea again and a Greek brigade ready to fight in Italy. He refrained from mentioning that this "success" was achieved by using British troops to suppress mutinies in the Greek armed forces against the Greek monarchy. Nor did Churchill have anything to say about the Allied efforts to bolster up the monarchy in Italy.

GERMAN PROBLEM

Except for a hint that "they may be decisive one of these days," Churchill said very little about the events in Germany which command international attention today. But the problem of Germany's future unquestionably preoccupies the Allied statesmen. "The three principal Allies have to deal from day to day with all kinds of burning issues arising in eight or ten vanquished, occupied or neutral States, two or three of which have quite healthy civil wars in prospect or in progress."

This statement of Churchill's indicates that class conflicts provide the most burning of all issues in Europe. At Teheran Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed upon arrangements to smother the fires of socialist revolution and to prevent them from spreading. In Italy, Jugoslavia and Greece they have already cooperated to repress the revolutionary activities and aspirations of the workers and peasants.

They propose to continue their counter-revolutionary work against the insurgent German masses and against any other section of the European working class that rises in revolt against capitalist rule. The Anglo-American imperialists do not intend to give any democracy or freedom to the European peoples. They aim to restore the most decrepit and detested monarchs or to set up military dictatorships in order to enforce their domination over the continent.

DIFFICULTIES AHEAD

Stalin is their willing accomplice in this vile enterprise. The utterly reactionary Kremlin bureaucracy fears that a victorious working-class revolution in any major European country would let loose an uncontrollable power which would be directed against their own reactionary rule and inspire the Soviet workers to overthrow them.

But it is one thing to plot against the approaching German and European revolutions; it is quite another to carry out such designs. In discussing the difficulties ahead, Churchill reminded his audience of the "man who sold a hyena-skin while the beast still lived and who was killed in hunting it." A very pertinent reminder, indeed — one which Churchill himself would do well to heed. Once before in 1917-1921 he rallied forth to exterminate the proletarian revolution in Russia — and failed. A much worse fate can befall him and his co-conspirators in their efforts to destroy the powerful revolutions emerging from this war in Europe.

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10 Years Ago In The Militant

AUGUST 11, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS — As the third week of the General Drivers' Union Local 574 strike drew to a close, the bosses, frightened by continued loss of profits, began to break ranks. While the employers' Citizens' Alliance made new proposals for a "settlement" discriminating against pickets, scores of small companies signed the arbitration agreement previously accepted by the union.

40,000 workers gathered in a tremendous protest meeting on Monday, August 9, to hear union representatives flay Governor Olson's decree of martial law, which, under a false cloak of impartiality, aided the bosses and terrorized the workers. While hundreds of permits were issued for scab trucks by the military, strike leaders Vincent Dunne, Miles Dunne, and William Brown were imprisoned by the military forces. The three leaders were released under the pressure of the united workers, but 120 pickets were arrested as a final effort to "show the union" that the Citizens' Alliance was not yet broken.

Denouncing the settlement proposed by the Citizens' Alliance, Vincent Dunne declared: "Local 574 is never going to agree to a 'preferential list' which puts the rights of scabs above the rights of union men. . . Doesn't it take colossal gall for people who sent out squads of murderers to shoot our pickets in the back, to talk about 'unlawful acts'?"

DETROIT — "Revolt against American Federation of Labor policies is rising in accelerated tempo throughout the automobile centers and in the newly formed Federal Unions in the United Automobile Workers Union of the AFL," The Militant reported. According to press reports, 7,000 workers in the Hudson Motor Company in Detroit had broken with the AFL. The break was an outgrowth of rank-and-file opposition to the March 25 sell-out perpetrated by AFL leaders which the AFL magazine, **The Federationist**, had called "a patriotic duty. . . accepted on the assurance of President Roosevelt that it was the best way out. . . "

The Militant said, **"There is no doubt that the action of the Detroit workers in the Hudson plant is an expression of a forward movement of the rank and file. . . that may herald big doings in the automobile industry which will have immense repercussions throughout the entire labor movement."**

NEW YORK — The Textile Workers Convention, scheduled for September, was advanced to August 13 as a result of mass unrest among the textile workers of the nation. Workers in the Paterson, New Jersey silk mills were taking the lead in fighting for autonomy and a militant program.

Letter From A Steelworker To His Son In The Service

By Theodore Kovalesky

Dear Joey:

We just received your last letter, and we're both as enthusiastic as you about your furlough. We hope it comes through soon. There is just one thing that I wish, though (I guess your dad is never satisfied), and that is that you had something a little better to come home to.

I don't know whether or not you saw it, but a while ago in the papers there was a picture of Commando Kelly's homecoming, banners and crowds to welcome him. . . but what struck me was the shoddy looking shack, a typical fire-trap of a house for him to come back to. It was something like our house.

Home, Sweet Home

It seems a shame, an awful shame for a fellow to be over there going through hell every day, and then to come home to what the social workers and the "uppah clawsses" would call "the slums". It seems a terrible shame that when the fellows come home at last into unemployment and all sorts of privations that these old frame shacks will be a little shabbier, a little creakier and saggier than they were before all of you left. But that's the way it will have to be, because, even if a worker could get enough material to fix up his place, or even if he had a chance to get another house, he certainly wouldn't have enough money to pay for it under the President's Little Steal Formula.

Sometimes you forget about these things. Mom and I have lived so long in this place that we don't notice very much any more how crummy it is. But last week on my day off we thought we'd have an outing. We packed a lunch and took a streetcar to the park. (You know, Joey, it did my heart good to see Mom out in the open air. She forgot all about everything and just enjoyed herself, got about ten years younger.) I hated to take Mom home again to our house after the day was over.

Out there, near the park, there are a lot of beautiful homes, big lawns with smooth soft grass, tall trees, long driveways. . . everything to make a home beautiful. That is the way men should live. When you get out of the factory, out of the noise and grime, you want a clean, cool place where you can relax and live a little, where you can take a breath without smelling the coke oven, where you can go outside with a clean white shirt on, and it won't get covered with brown dirt in ten minutes.

These Things Are Worth Fighting For

With all the riches in the country, I should think it would be possible to have workers' homes some place where there were trees. That's what I wish you had to come back to, Joey, a little white place with shutters, trees, and maybe one of those white wooden fences around it. Mom would have roses all over the fences. She even manages to get a few sickly ones here, but they get all covered with dust and look pretty bad, although I always praise her about what swell roses she raises. Poor Mom tries so hard to get a little beauty here.

Well, Joey, there are two ways of looking at a thing like this. You can gripe, or you can do a little punching and fight for what you want. I've been punching for so many years now that I guess I'll have to keep it up. You can't teach an old dog new tricks, you know. Yes, I'm planning on keeping on plugging, and maybe we WILL wind up that way, with a little fresh air and cleanliness for the workers and their wives and kids. It certainly is worth fighting for.

Well, Joey, we can hardly wait to see you again. . . and I suppose you feel pretty much the same way about getting home, even if "home" is pretty shabby.

Dad

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Philadelphia Strike

The strike of the Philadelphia Transit Company workers against the upgrading of eight Negroes is a danger signal to all of American labor. This is the gravest of recent manifestations that the union-busting drive of the capitalist class is making headway among layers of backward workers. A continuation of this trend, with white workers acting as tools of the employers against their Negro brothers, can only culminate in disaster for the whole labor movement.

For it would assure the success of the bosses' policy of "divide and rule" at a time when unbreakable solidarity of the working class is imperatively needed. With their ranks torn by race-hatred, the workers will be helpless to fight against unemployment, insecurity and misery in the coming period which will be far worse than the conditions after 1929.

It is well established that the strike was directly inspired in the Company offices. The Mitten interests, which own and control the P.T.C., originated the policy of discrimination against the Negro transit workers and have applied it for decades. The reactionary leaders of the strike were officials of the Mitten-sponsored company union. The immediate aim of the strike was to discredit and break up the CIO-Transport Workers Union, which recently defeated the company union in a National Labor Relations Board election. Here is a clear case of the bosses plotting to excite reactionary prejudices among backward workers and sow dissension in labor's ranks in order to intensify their exploitation and increase their profits.

Why and how have the Philadelphia transit interests been able to apply their anti-Negro policy with such effect?

The reactionary leaders of the strikers supplied part of the answer. Faced with the threat of induction by the draft boards, they are reported to have exclaimed: "Very good; we'll fight side by side with whites in the Army." They thereby revealed that their prejudices flow from the whole Jim Crow system implanted in American capitalism and fostered by the present administration. If the government itself practices anti-Negro discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, why, they argued, isn't such a policy justifiable in the Company? If, in the face of death on the battlefields, the Negro is "put in his place" with official sanction, why not in the workshop and the car barn?

No wonder these misled and miseducated workers howled and snickered when U. S. Army officers appealed to them to go back to work! As the fate of the eight Negro workers since the return to work and the taking over by the Army has shown, they had good grounds to snicker. They could not take seriously the intention of officers who enforce Jim Crow in the Army to do the exact opposite on company premises.

No wonder the Stalinist T.W.U. leaders' appeals to patriotism fell on deaf ears! This patriotism is soaked through and through with Jim Crow.

There was yet another reason for the effectiveness of the bosses' plot and the ineffectual efforts of the Stalinist union leadership to stop the strike. Because of their no-strike pledge and slavish subservience to Roosevelt's policies, the trade union officialdom has completely failed to provide the workers with any program of resistance to the encroachments of the capitalists, to stop profiteering and the mounting cost of living. They have failed to provide them with a program of struggle for security in face of the threat of unemployment which stares at them through all the "post-war" plans of the bosses. That is why fascist demagogues and preachers of race hatred and violence can receive a hearing even from some workers.

These ultra-reactionary forces are trying to divert the justifiable indignation and unrest of the workers away from the real causes and authors of their misery. In barring the road of struggle against the capitalist perpetrators of labor's hardships, the union officials play into the hands of these reactionary forces. They leave the road open to that despair in which anti-Negro demagogues find a fertile soil. Similar circumstances enabled the Nazis to hoist themselves to power in Germany on the backs of a divided working class.

The way to unity of the Negro and white workers lies only along the path of joint struggle against the common capitalist enemy. To lament over the tragic disunity displayed in Philadelphia is not enough. To confine oneself to castigating the self-betraying conduct of the P.T.C. workers is not enough.

The disastrous policies imposed upon the unions by the present leadership must be discarded. American labor must be rearmed with a militant program which will effectively defend the real interests of all workers and strike at the roots of the Jim Crow system. The fight against Jim Crowism must go hand in hand with irreconcilable struggle against the plans of Big Business to foist unemployment and starvation upon the workers and to smash their organizations.

Such a program of struggle demands that along with the struggle on the economic field, the trade union movement break with the two capitalist parties which uphold the Jim Crow system. By asserting its independence and concentrating its forces against the common enemy, organized labor will cement the unity of the white and Negro workers, halt the union-busting offensive of the bosses, and move forward toward a real solution of the problems confronting the working masses.

The Strike Wave

The temporarily arrested strike wave which reached its peak in May of this year has resumed its upward curve.

All of the factors contributing to the intensification of the pre-invasion strike movement are still present but in aggravated form. Among these factors are: The rigid application of the wage-freeze; the imposition by administrative decree of the job-freeze; the adoption by Congress of a mangled version of the Price Control Act which makes price control a mockery; cutbacks and plant shutdowns resulting in the practice of downgrading, elimination of overtime pay, disemployment, which reduces the "take-home" wage of the workers and lowers their standard of living. In the face of all this there is a constant rise in the cost of living for the masses and skyrocketing profits for the corporations.

In addition, the arrogance of the corporations increases in direct proportion to the craven capitulation of the labor bureaucrats to the contract violations, speed-up devices and provocations of the corporation executives. The policy of the labor bureaucrats offers no other solution to these problems than continued dependence on Roosevelt and his War Labor Board, the reiteration of the unconditional no-strike pledge, and the purging of union militants who resist corporation provocation. These measures can only worsen the condition of the workers, weaken the unions and make them easy prey to the union-smashing designs of the labor-hating corporations and their political agents in Washington.

The extensive outbreak of sporadic strikes is an indication that the workers are losing faith in the so-called "friends of labor" and are pressing for action. Experience has taught that only the strength and solidarity of the unions can wrest concessions from the profiteering corporations and their government. Evidence that this fact is impressing itself upon the workers was revealed by the recent Michigan CIO Convention where over one-third of the delegates voted to revoke the no-strike pledge. The movement to revoke the no-strike pledge will gather momentum as increasing numbers of workers record their discontent by "unauthorized" strikes to gain their demands.

Against the unconditional surrender policy of the labor bureaucrats the union militants are mobilizing around the following demands. Rescind the No-Strike Pledge! No faith in Roosevelt or his War Labor Board! Smash the wage freezing Little Steel formula by calling a conference of all unions to draw up a program of independent labor action. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Briggs Workers

Editor:

The Militant is improving all the time. I have heard considerable favorable comment from new subscribers. Several workers in Briggs thought the article on the Michigan State CIO Convention hit the nail on the head. A number of others here told me they were resubscribing for a year. It is rapidly becoming the only organ of the militant working class.

J. K.
Detroit

Layoffs in Detroit

Editor:

The July "Research Report" of the UAW has a lead article which states that "by September or October, assuming success in the operations of Soviet, British and American armies on the continent of Europe, very sharp cutbacks are to be expected. . . Layoffs for up to 300,000 UAW members by fall are by no means impossible."

This report is not news to factory workers in Detroit. Layoffs have already hit most of the large plants in the area and many of the small ones.

Motor Products Company laid off 500 at a clip, and has reached men and women with three years seniority. Budd Wheel has laid off hundreds with termination of a shell contract. Hudson has cut down considerably.

True, there are still many openings in Detroit. However, a continuation of the layoffs will reach the saturation point. It is not far off. Rumors fly thick and fast. There is no real security. This is expressed by men with ten years seniority on down. The union bureaucrats privately declare that the colored workers and the women will be hit the hardest due to their low seniority status.

The Research Report complains that "despite the bitter experience of the Brewster case, no planned method for making cutbacks and expanding civilian production to maintain full employment has been set up by any war agency. . ." The "bitter experience of the Brewster case" should be ample proof to the pork-choppers that the government agencies do not intend to do anything at all. It is clear that an immediate campaign must be commenced to put into effect the 30 hour week at 48 hours' pay.

This plank has been part of the UAW program long prior to the outbreak of the war. Mass layoffs in the auto union will wrack the union over the question of who should be laid off first. The real problem arising over and above any question of seniority is not who will be laid off first, but how to gain full employment for every UAW member, regardless of race, color, or sex, or seniority. The pie cards shy away from this because it entails an aggressive campaign against the corporations. They shine only when they are fighting the rank and file.

The main problem is this threat of unemployment and the solution is the 30-hour week. More and more the issue is being raised in Detroit. It arose at the Chrysler conference and will be on the agenda at the National Convention of the UAW.

The tremendous productive facilities which we witnessed during the war will only be put to use in the post-war period if they are profitable, declares Big Business. As far as the workers and returning soldiers are concerned, what was accomplished in war time can also be done in peacetime.

J. K.
Detroit

Shipyard Protest

Editor:

20,000 workers of the New York Shipbuilding Company in Camden, New Jersey staged a mass demonstration of protest on July 31 against company stalling on their new union contract.

The Stalinists and the labor fakers have been doing everything in their power to control the growing unrest in the union ranks, but have succeeded only in a limited degree. The July 31 demonstration, like the demonstration on June 30, was held on the workers' own time in the half-hour interval between the night and day shifts, so that no production time would be lost. This, and the appearance of banners reading "we won't strike," were concessions to the Stalinists and union officials who have been constantly shouting to the workers the usual flag-waving pleas.

In spite of the influence of the Stalinists and the top leadership of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, these 20,000 workers did put on two tremendous demonstrations within a single month, showing their militancy and potential strength. It will not be long before they learn from experience that protests arranged to maintain production are useless in fighting for their demands. Once they have learned this lesson, once they have renounced the treacherous policies imposed upon them by Stalinists and labor fakers, these militant workers will turn against the no-strike pledge.

The workers of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation will be aided in finding the correct road of union struggle, by the experiences of other shipyard workers in the Philadelphia-Camden area, who have been fighting for their own demands by determined strike action.

J. M.
Camden, N. J.

Lockheed Contract

Editor:

At a meeting held on July 23 by the Industrial District Lodge 727 of the International Association of Machinists, the contract negotiated by the Senior Board of the Lodge with the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., through the U. S. Conciliation Service, was rejected. The contract, as a whole, presented no fundamental gains.

The particular points of rejection were the inclusion of supervision in the same bargaining unit as the workers and the non-inclusion of plant-wide seniority to the outlying Lockheed Plants, outside of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area.

The workers showed militancy and constantly heckled and booed anyone speaking in favor of the contract. The Lodge, through a new negotiating committee which will be elected by the Industrial District Lodge, will attempt to re-open negotiations with the Company. As an indication of the Company's attitude, maintenance of membership, increased vacation pay and sick-leave pay has to be submitted to the War Labor Board.

Fundamentally the improvement of working conditions can only be obtained by the removal of the no-strike pledge, the non-adherence of labor men to the WLB, and striking out for Independent Labor Politics.

H. T.
Los Angeles

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

DENMARK

The full import of the great general strike in Denmark last month is still obscured by censorship. Even in the course of the strike, information seeped thru that the ranks of the strikers held out despite the readiness to capitulate of the official leadership of the resistance movement, the nationalists, the trade union leaders and the Social-Democrats.

Thus the London *Daily Herald* reported on July 4th: "A new appeal to the workers to return, broadcast tonight, was sponsored by William Buhl, Chief of the Social-Democratic Party, the leader of the Conservative Party, trade union leader Eiler Jensen, and the Chief Burgomaster." The real spirit of the workers, which overcame the cowardice of the "leaders" and finally brought the Nazi overlords to terms with a successful conclusion of the strike, is revealed in another dispatch.

Writing about the disturbances in Copenhagen which preceded the general strike, the *Svenska Morgenbladet* of Stockholm reported on June 29: "In Istegade, the people hoisted a Red Flag over barricades built in the street and were singing the 'International' when the Germans arrived."

The official Danish Information service reports that the Nazis, even if reluctantly, have been compelled to carry out in some measure the demands of the strikers. On July 8th they announced over the Danish radio that the curfew would be entirely raised. On the same day the German General Richter turned over Copenhagen to the Danish authorities. The Nazis apparently had to take steps to satisfy even the boldest demand of the demonstrators for the removal of the hated native-fascist "Schalburg Corps" from Denmark. They ordered some to the Eastern front and others to Norway, but here they seem to have run into difficulty — the native fascists are recalcitrant.

The high morale of the workers after their victory is attested by another news item: "On July 12th the people of Copenhagen observed a two-minute silence in memory of those who fell during the people's strike . . . The stoppage was total. (Even) a truck filled with Germans stopped still on Langebro. The chauffeur was Danish and in spite of German pistol threats he refused to drive on."

GREECE

Several months ago the Stalinist leaders of the National Liberation Front (E.A.M.) and the Greek government-in-exile met at Beirut and concluded the so-called "Lebanon" pact for national unity. The entire capitalist as well as Stalinist press hailed this as a great achievement. According to them, Greek unity was an accomplished fact and a united government had been set up.

Since then, however, the newspapers have been full of reports about the breakdown of all talks to secure unity. "Civil strife Again in Greece" has become almost a standard headline on this topic. The real facts behind these unity negotiations, which have so far failed of their purpose are slowly coming to light.

It seems that the Stalinist leaders of the E.A.M. — Professor Svolos, M. Porphyrogenis and General Sarafis — who took part in the negotiations, have been ready for any kind of a deal. Last month the London *Sunday Observer* reported that they "are quite ready to enter the government. But they have hesitated to take this step without full approval from those they represent lest this should further split the resistance movement and bring about civil strife in Greece."

In other words, the hitch in the unity maneuvers is the instability of the Stalinist control imposed upon the insurgent Greek masses. "The main obstacle to complete unity," the report continues, "is the intransigeant attitude adopted by certain E.A.M. leaders of secondary rank." The *Manchester Guardian* of July 8th also informs us that "the determination to keep separate, advocated especially by the minor leaders, has overridden the advice of the moderates within the movement," that is, the Stalinist sell-out artists.

The insurgent masses in Greece want no truck with the king. They demand amnesty for the sailors of the Greek navy who mutinied in support of their movement against the King, and are determined to continue their own independent struggle for liberation.

The projected sell-out of the Stalinists has by no means met with full success as yet. Their troubles in Greece are symptomatic of the rising wrath and resistance their treachery is bound to evoke when they attempt to crush the revolutionary activities of the masses elsewhere in Europe.

"De-Fascization"

Allied "de-fascization" of Italy is becoming more of a grim farce every day. The journalist Philip Jordan, writing from Italy to the London News Chronicle, reports: "Even the head of the notorious Italian African Police, more hated, more violent even than the Republican Fascists, is now working for us because he came and offered his service and it seems wiser to use his knowledge than to lock him up."

How apt is a recent cartoon in the Italian Avanti which depicts a blackshirt running. A friend asks him where is he headed for. He answers: "To join the Purge Commission—haven't had a chance to change my shirt yet."

'Wage Bracket System' Is Pay-Cut Formula

All sections of the union movement are complaining bitterly about the way in which the War Labor Board, under the orders of "Assistant President" James F. Byrnes, has been undermining union wage rates with its "wage bracket system," ostensibly put into effect to rectify "inequalities."

The WLB establishes certain "wage brackets" of "sound and tested" rates in a given area and occupation. It then subtracts 10 per cent from this figure to establish the "minimum" of the bracket. The WLB is supposed to permit wage increases up to this "minimum," which invariably is far below union standards.

Robert J. Watt, AFL representative on the WLB, recently denounced the "wage bracket system" as "equally bad," and "in some instances worse" than the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. He charged that it is "based on unfair wage statistics, collected in painfully slow procedures, amid the hocus pocus of secret or confidential sources."

The figures, he pointed out, come from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which obtains them mainly from the employers. When the unions challenge the BLS on the accuracy of its data, it hides behind an "unwritten rule" that it cannot divulge the sources of its information.

Thus, Watt declared, the "wage bracket system" has become "a perfect haven for either an employer or an employer association to 'assist' the wage freeze by furnishing questionable wage rates which, because of their secrecy, may not be analyzed or exposed." Not only does the BLS accept the mere statement of the employer, without checking his records, but it "overlooks" the union wage shops and gives excessive weight to "small, back-alley shops." The unions themselves are seldom consulted.

Corporation Heads Given Huge Salary Increases

The Roosevelt administration has frozen workers' wages with the Little Steel Formula. Corporation executive salaries, however, have soared between 1940 and 1943 on the basis of a Big Steal Formula.

How Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" and "stabilization" program has affected the "earnings" of big business men is revealed by a recent list of corporation salary increases compiled by the Trade Union Accident and Health Association. Salary boosts of between 100 and 200 per cent are common.

Here are a few samples:

	1940	1943	Per cent of increase over 1940
Aviation Corp.—V. Emmanuel	$25,000	98,317	293.2
Burlington Mills—J. S. Love	91,940	170,180	96.5
Dow Chemical—W. H. Dow	50,000	100,000	100.0
Goodyear Tire—P. W. Litchfield	100,000	175,000	75.0
Remington Rand—J. H. Rand, Jr.	92,782	225,278	175.1
Savage Arms—F. F. Hickey	32,010	86,037	168.8
Timken-Detroit Axle—W. F. Rockwell	12,300	81,483	228.1
Willys-Overland—J. W. Frazer	60,000	123,184	105.3

Of course, not all the bosses garnered such Big Steal increases. Poor Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, found his 1942 salary of $537,724 "stabilized" at the same figure for 1943.

He and others like him have some consolation, however. They're clipping off additional millions and billions in dividend coupons, and they have quite a few billions socked away under "undistributed profits," "contingency reserves," etc. So they're "content" to eke out an existence today on a few hundred thousand dollars yearly. The big melon is being saved to top off the war profits feast.

Liberals Disappointed -- But Support Roosevelt

The liberals, who have been telling the world for 12 years that Roosevelt and his party are the answer to the "common man's" prayer, are suffering a bad case of hang-over since the recent Democratic Party convention. Bruce Bliven, editor of **The New Republic**, voices the anguish of his breed at the rotten egg they suddenly smelled in Chicago.

In the August 7 issue, Bliven bares the plight of "The Liberals after Chicago." They are "down in the dumps" and "heartbroken" because "they fear that the conservatives are now in complete control of both the Democratic and Republican parties." In every sphere, the cause of "liberalism" has been routed. Even the "war for democracy" has turned sour in the liberals' mouths. "They see military victory not far off, but permanent world peace very far off indeed."

Bliven confesses "there is nothing in the immediate prospect which should cause American progressives to throw their hats in the air. The Southern conservatives and the big-city machines of the North had their way at Chicago, with the acquiescence, if not the active collaboration, of President Roosevelt."

"Nearly all the top decisions in the government bureaus," Bliven complains, "are now being made by conservatives, and a large number of them by Republican conservatives." "Free enterprise"—unrestricted capitalist piracy—has become the hue and cry of Democrats and Republicans alike.

Churchill is "more completely Tory" than ever. Stalin cannot be counted "a good liberal along American lines." The "democratic impulse" in Chiang Kai Shek's China is "suspect, to put it mildly." The "Four Freedoms" are in for a bad shellacking.

But this is not "justification for pessimism." "If you are disheartened at this moment, it means only that you were unjustifiably optimistic a little earlier." For it now turns out that the "New Deal" was an "accident." And with the war, Roosevelt "rightly or wrongly" had "no time" to bother with "a program of domestic reform."

But having finally uncovered this rotten egg and made a wry face, Bliven puts a clothes-pin on his nose and swallows the egg. For he ends up, "No progressive needs to be told that he should work and vote for the reelection of President Roosevelt."